The Outlook

Vol. 73 March 28, 1903 No. 13

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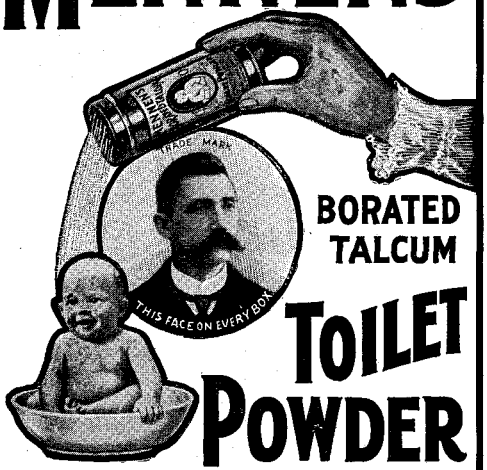

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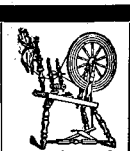

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The Outlook

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The Strike Commission's Awards

On Saturday last the Coal Strike Commission, as was hoped, rendered a unanimous decision upon the supremely important industrial dispute submitted to its arbitrament. The awards upon the chief points in dispute were as follows:

1. Wages: A ten per cent. increase to all miners who are paid according to the amount of work done, and to all other employees whose hours remain unchanged.

2. Hours: Eight hours (or three shifts) daily without any reduction of pay to engineers and firemen now working twelve hours or two shifts, in hoisting water; free Sundays and a five per cent. increase in pay to pumpmen, and a nine-hour day with present wages to substantially all other workmen paid by the day.

3. Payment by weight: Pronounced impracticable in many mines, and not to be extended except by mutual agreement between employers and employed; the miners to be permitted to employ check weighmen and check docking bosses where they think it desirable to insure fair treatment.

4. Recognition of union: Future disputes to be submitted to a permanent board of conciliation, of whom three members shall be selected by the employers, three by the miners of the three districts or by "an organization representing a majority of said miners," and the umpire, in case of disagreement, to be selected by one of the United States Circuit Judges of the district containing the anthracite fields; neither union nor non-union men to be discriminated against in any way by either employers or unions.

5. Sliding scale of wages: In case the price of coal at tide-water is above $4.50 per ton (for standard quality and sizes) the mine workers shall receive an additional one per cent. in wages for each five cents added to the designated price of coal, but in case the price of coal at tide-water falls below $4.50 per ton there shall be no reduction in the wages awarded by the Commission.

It is stipulated that the general ten per cent. advance in wages shall be paid upon all work performed since the first of November and until the first of April, on which date all the provisions of the award shall go into effect and remain in force until March 31, 1906.

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The Commission s Recommendations

Besides rendering these awards upon the matters directly submitted to it for its decision, the Commission reviews the entire evidence brought before it and makes the following most important recommendations:

The discontinuance of the system of employing the "coal and iron police," because this force is believed to have an irritating effect, and a resort to the regularly constituted peace authorities in case of necessity.

A stricter enforcement of the laws in relation to the employment of children.

That the State and Federal Governments shall provide machinery for compulsory investigation of difficulties similar to the investigation which this Commission has made.

As regards this third point, the Commission takes strong grounds against compulsory arbitration, and urges that the chief benefits possible from it can be secured by the compulsory investigation it recommends. Such an investigation of mining disputes, it says, might be provided for by an act of Congress similar to that passed in 1888 in reference to railroad disputes, and this would have the effect of placing conditions "authoritatively before the people, that public opinion may crystallize and make its power felt." "Could such a commission as that suggested," it continues, "have been brought into existence in June last, we believe that the coal famine might have been averted—certainly the suffering and deprivation might have been greatly mitigated." The Outlook has so frequently urged the measure here proposed that we need not again summarize the arguments in its favor. We doubt whether it will prove the final remedy for industrial disputes which leave the public helpless to supply itself with the needs of life, but it is certainly the first step

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toward the final remedy, and one absolutely necessary for the development of intelligent public control of public perils.

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Responsibility for Lawlessness

The remainder of the report, reviewing industrial and social conditions in the anthracite mining regions, is to the effect that these conditions—except as to the peril of life and limb in the mines—are better than the miners' champions have commonly asserted, and afford no justification to the miners who have sent their little children into the factories to increase the family earnings. The National leaders of the miners' union and a majority of its members are freed from responsibility for the violence employed against non-union men, but the Commission finds that a lawless minority, with too much sympathy from local leaders, stained the history of the strike "with a record of riot and bloodshed, culminating in three murders, unprovoked saved by the fact that two of the victims were asserting their right to work, and another, an officer of the law, was performing his duty in attempting to preserve the peace." As to the acquiescence of the orderly element, the Commission says pointedly: "The resentment expressed by many persons connected with the strike at the presence of the armed guards and the militia of the State does not argue well for the peaceable character or purposes of such persons. No peaceable or law-abiding citizen has reason to fear or resent the presence of either." The extreme forms of boycotting employed in many instances against non-union men are condemned as "cruel and cowardly," and as deserving to be punished as criminal conspiracies. These conclusions of the Commission, which also are unanimous, demonstrate the possibility of securing just judgments all along the line from a commission representing men of the most diverse employment and sympathies. In addition to its significance as the settlement of the most important labor controversy of the decade, this Commission by its action marks an important stage in the development of the industrial problem; in this respect we are inclined to think it is the most important event in the industrial history of the past quarter-century. Of this aspect we shall have something to say in a future issue of The Outlook.

The Cuban Treaty Ratified

The extra session of the Senate ended on Thursday of last week with the ratification of the amended Cuban reciprocity treaty. The final vote in favor of the ratification stood 50 to 16—or, including pairs, 65 to 24. Senator Bard, of California, was the only Republican who was recorded against the treaty. Nine Democrats supported it, while twenty-three voted or were paired in opposition. In the final debate Senator Nelson, of Minnesota—a beet-sugar State—sharply criticised the treaty and successfully demanded its amendment by a stipulation that Cuba must admit American flour and corn-meal at thirty per cent. less than her regular tariff. Senator Bacon, of Georgia, one of the Democrats who supported the treaty, obtained a similar amendment in favor of American cotton products sent to Cuba. The most important amendments to the treaty, however, were of course those previously agreed to by the Republican leaders, requiring the passage of a joint resolution by Congress before the reduced duties provided for could go into effect, and pledging that the American duty on sugar should not be further reduced while the treaty remains in force, whether by any concession to other sugar-producing countries or by a lowering of the tariff for American consumers. The first of these important amendments, having been made at the demand of the Democrats, was adopted without opposition. The second, which was made at the demand of the beet-sugar growers' convention, was opposed by all the Democratic Senators, but adopted by a strict party vote of 44 to 22. The speeches against the treaty were all made by Democrats—the Louisiana Senators taking the lead, but being supported by Teller, of Colorado, Newlands, of Nevada, Berry, of Arkansas, and Carmack, of Tennessee. The first three spoke as representatives of sugar-growing constituents, Mr. Newlands as an advocate of annexation and Statehood for Cuba, and Senators Berry and Carmack as opponents of the policy of fettering the future tariff action of Congress by the stipulations of the treaty. Senator Berry's criticism was directed particularly against the beet-sugar growers' amendment pledging that similar treaties should not be made with other sugar-growing coun-

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tries, or the general tariff on sugar be reduced during the life of the treaty. This amendment is undoubtedly the weakest point in the treaty, and its adoption threatens complications with other sugar-growing powers, which may demand the treatment of the "most favored nation" granted them in our general commercial treaties. The defense of the treaty fell upon Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, and Senator Simmons, of North Carolina. The former urged strongly the considerations of justice and generosity prompting us to help the Cuban republic, and the latter urged the reciprocal commercial advantages which Cuba concedes to us in the treaty. These include a twenty per cent. reduction in the Cuban tariff upon most imports from America, and a twenty-five, thirty, and even forty per cent. reduction upon a large variety of American manufactures and farm products. The treaty is for a term of five years, and until one year after either power signifies a desire to terminate it.

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Cincinnati's Fight Against Boss Rule

The conditions of misgovernment which have led to exposures and reform movements in New York, Minneapolis, and St. Louis, exist in Cincinnati also. A municipal "boss" has held sway there for years and has even attained the distinction of being bracketed by Mr. James Bryce with Mr. Croker as exercising despotic control to be paralleled only in Russia. This ruler is Mr. George B. Cox, and the extent of his power may be judged from the fact that, in declining the nomination as candidate for Mayor upon the Democratic-Citizens ticket, Judge Rufus B. Smith assigned as one reason the practical certainty that, if he were to leave his place on the bench, the ring, managed by Cox, would, through the Governor, control the appointment of a judge. Judge Smith's speech was a notably courageous and straightforward attack on ring rule in Cincinnati. He declared that, through the Council, the machine not only controls all patronage and keeps an army of employees really in its pay, but that it sells franchises to the highest bidder and puts the money into the ringsters' own pockets instead of into the treasury of the city; that it has terrorized public-service corporations into alliance by threatening rival grants; and that these corporations have "sought fancied protection in the arms of the syndicate, which plucks and plunders them at will," allowing them, as best they may, to recuperate their losses by inferior service to the public. Specifically, Judge Smith charged that the city government under the ring rule has farmed out gambling privileges to favorite officers and ward captains, has licensed prostitution, has filled every public office, from high officials down to the scavengers who sweep the streets, and has enforced upon these employees its decrees under penalty of a loss of their positions. These are only a few of the more salient charges made; all may be summed up in the declaration that "the entire administration of our public affairs has passed into the hands of a syndicate of predatory politicians." Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find that a strong and aggressive Democratic-Citizens movement is now under way. The Democratic-Citizens party has nominated for Mayor Mr. Melville E. Ingalls, a railway president of great executive ability, and a man whose public spirit has been shown by liberal contributions to many educational and art objects. The country at large will watch the progress of the fight now going on in Cincinnati with sympathy and interest. The reform movement aims at the separation of National politics from municipal government; at the improvement of street-car service, and at other much-needed public improvements; but most of all at the entire crushing of the present practice of blackmailing corporations and contractors, and at the overthrow of "boss" rule.

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Political Corruption in Delaware

Last week, by the close vote of 9 to 7, the Delaware State Senate voted to repeal the notorious Voters' Assistant law, the chief aid to bribe-givers in making sure that the vote-sellers carried out their bargain. So far, Governor Hunn (an admitted Addicks adherent) has not signed the bill, and it will fail to become law, as we understand it, if he does not sign it within ten days after its passage. Governor Hunn's attitude toward Addicks is shown by the fact that the Governor has appointed Addicks a member of the

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Board of Directors of the Delaware State College—an appointment which has excited ridicule and protest among all intelligent people. The extraordinary spectacle was witnessed during the debate in the Senate of an outspoken defense of bribery by a representative of the people whose oath binds him to observe the laws. Senator Conner, an Addicks Republican, is reported by the press despatches as follows:

> We have been accused of buying votes under the operation of this law. There have been rumors in the air of vote-buying in Delaware ever since any of us can remember, and I happen to know that Delaware is not the only State where votes are bought and money is spent at elections. The voter's assistant system again comes in and commends itself for fairness. It insures delivery of the goods. When I buy a horse, I want my horse. When a Republican buys a vote, he wants his vote. I contend that there is no politics in the matter, for when a Republican or Democrat wants to buy a vote, he has an opportunity of thus securing it instead of being cheated out of it, as has been the case so many times in this State.

We are glad to be able to contrast with this utterance the admonition of the Wilmington Methodist Conference. After calling attention to the fact that bribery and corruption are rampant in Delaware, the resolutions of the Conference conclude with these words:

> We, therefore, admonish all our people that any one guilty of this shameless crime stands discredited before the Church, contemptible in the eyes of his brethren, and condemned in the sight of God.

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Corruption in Rhode Island

If the greatest States in the Union have developed the most corrupt political machines, the smallest States have apparently developed the greatest amount of corruption among the voters. The fact that the individual voter in the small State exerts so direct an influence upon political affairs has caused the corruptionists to seek him out, while in the great States with a highly organized and centralized political machinery it is only necessary to influence the relatively few men in control. But, whatever the reason, the fact is clear that in the smallest Eastern States—and Montana in this respect ranks with them—the distribution of corruption funds among the voters has been carried to the furthest point. Last week the New York "Evening Post" had a representative in Rhode Island who described conditions comparable with those exposed by Mr. Kennan in Delaware. A Democratic politician from the town of North Smithfield, who, according to his own statement, was in charge of the corruption fund of his party in that community from the early eighties till a few years ago, talked with freedom of the methods used. Among other things, he described a public auction of the floaters near the town hall steps. This almost incredible scene was led up to by the efforts of the floaters to get the two party managers to raise each other's bids, and finally the managers decided to end the contest by a regular auction. In this way the whole group was finally sold to the hero of this self-incriminating story for $25 apiece. In another town the story was told of the two party leaders—university men—meeting together before the election and agreeing to let the one with the most money carry the town—the two managers not entering into a buying contest, but keeping the money themselves. Still more alarming was the evidence gathered regarding the supine attitude of the ministry toward the corruption. Upon this point the "Evening Post's" correspondent quotes as follows from an informant in close touch with ministers all over the State:

> The taking of bribes is not looked upon as a crime by some leading church workers and men of substance in the country. For this reason the pastor, unless he wishes to terminate abruptly his career of usefulness, is bound to defer to the sentiment of the community. It is a question of bread and butter, and for the sake of their families, and to continue in their pastorate, they refrain from speaking on a question that would possibly offend the community and result in their discharge. Many of them, in preaching only the Gospel, intrench themselves behind the text from St. Paul, "This one thing I do."

One minister's wife, whose husband was elected to an important office by means of bribery, was quoted as saying: "You can't get elected unless you do spend money, and I guess the man that was elected before my husband spent it. That's the only way you can get an office down here, and I don't see why you should blame us; we haven't done any worse than anybody else." These statements, says the "Evening Post's" correspondent,

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were submitted to Bishop McVickar, and he was asked if they represented correctly the attitude of the clergy toward vote-buying. His reply was that they did, and that the hands of the clergy had to be upheld "to enable them to speak out without financial ruin." A blacker situation than this is not easily pictured. It is not to be reformed by any mere change in political machinery. It demands the moral awakening of the whole State.

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New Hampshire Abandons Prohibition

For more than fifty years New Hampshire has had statutory prohibition, being the second State in the Union to enact such a law. During this whole half-century there has never been a time until now when the opponents of the law stood the slightest chance of repealing it. It was upheld by the dominant party and by the vast majority of the people of the State. Ten years ago, when a motion was made in the Legislature for its repeal, it was not supported by a baker's dozen. The law was enforced in those communities—and they were many—where its enforcement was backed by sufficient local influence. It was violated in others, under an illegal system of license by periodical fines. Road-houses of the vilest character were planted in the country districts without any regulation whatever. In most of the cities, particularly Manchester, Nashua, Dover, and Portsmouth, the saloon business was carried on openly. The "Healey System" of periodical fines regulated the traffic in Manchester. But former Governor Goodell petitioned for and secured from Judge Peaslee, January 1, 1902, a mandatory order that the saloons be closed. This mandamus proved to be the downfall, not only of the Healey system, but of the prohibitory law. For several weeks the saloons were actually out of business, but, under the pretext of selling soft drinks and "no per cent." beer, they gradually resumed a thriving trade. New saloons, freed from illegal regulation, sprang up where no saloons had been. The prohibitionists accused the police of conniving at all this on the I-told-you-so principle. So the last state was worse than the first, and the demand for repeal rose to irresistible proportions. A local option Legislature was elected, and a Judiciary Committee appointed, composed chiefly of men inclined to carry the reaction to its furthest possible limit. They reported a virtually straight license bill. A board of three State License Commissioners, with vast discretionary powers, was to be appointed by the Governor, to whom they were to report. For instance, licenses for hotels were to be anywhere from $25 to $1,000, in the discretion of the Commission, and though the towns were given the nominal right of local option, the License Commission was empowered to license liquor-selling at hotel bars, railroad restaurants, and club-houses, even in "no-license" towns. Furthermore, license was to be forced on all the cities at once—even those in which no saloon now exists—without the privilege of voting on the subject for nearly four years. A tremendous protest arose from every section of the State, from all the newspapers except two or three party organs, and from Roman Catholic priests and ministers of every denomination. A two-hour mass-meeting of protest was held in Legislative Hall the night before the vote on the bill. With amendments providing for immediate local option in towns and cities, removing the worst features of the hotel provision, increasing the maximum license to $1,200, and diminishing the discretionary powers of the Commission, the bill finally passed by a vote of 218 to 84, and New Hampshire passes out of the prohibitory column.

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Police Reform in New York City

Last week an association of beer, wine, and liquor dealers asked Mayor Low, of New York, for a hearing against the increase of license fees as proposed in the Legislature. Mayor Low, replying, stated that he could not receive any committee of this association until he was informed whether it was true or not that a fund of $3,000,000 was raised by it, as rumored, and, if so, for what purposes it was used. It is plain to be seen what relation such a fund, if it exists, is likely to bear to corrupt influence over the police whose business it is to enforce the excise laws. The dealers have expressed much indignation at the implications in the Mayor's letter; and the Chairman of the committee has declared that "whatever may be done

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by individuals in this city we do not know, but this organization, as an organization, is and will continue to be absolutely opposed to the payment of blackmail." The Mayor has replied stating explicitly his reasons for believing that the association has connived at the practice of blackmail in the city. These reasons are based in part on the reluctant testimony of the vice-president of one of the association's local branches, under oath, before the court. Whatever the final outcome of the discussion on this point may be, Mayor Low, by his letters, has again called the attention of New York citizens in a concrete way to the undertaking on the part of the city administration to root out police blackmail. That the administration has not been inactive in this respect, so far as changing the personnel of the police is concerned, is demonstrated by the changes that have occurred in the Police Department since a year ago last January first. The campaign of the previous fall centered about the promise to drive out Devery, the notorious Deputy Police Commissioner, whose name stood for all the brutal and corrupt abuses of police power. To-day, out of the forty-three precincts that comprised the city of New York before consolidation, all of the former commanders have gone except four. When it is remembered that these are the precincts where corruption prevailed, the change in police administration is seen to be really revolutionary. The method by which this change has been secured has illustrated the saying, "The wicked flee when no man pursueth." Captain after captain has "retired on a pension," not through any information as to charges to be brought against him, but through simple fear that he might be the next to be struck at. Such retirement, though not so dramatically effective as removal, is more effective practically; for, being nominally voluntary, it makes reinstatement by the courts impossible. The places of such men are now filled by captains who, not having had to pay for the appointments, are relieved of the temptation to reimburse themselves by levying blackmail. The present administration has therefore done for the police of the city what it has been said it was the function of government to do for a people—it has made vice more difficult and virtue easier.

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An Appointment in Behalf of Public Safety

An important reform has recently been brought about by the Administration at Washington with very little disturbance. Indeed, it is probable that few of those who will most profit by it know of its occurrence. It concerns the safety of all who travel by water—whether on the great ocean liners or merely on ferryboats. This reform has been secured by the appointment by the President of Mr. George Uhler as Supervising Inspector-General of Steamboats. Not long ago a great deal of anxiety was occasioned by the failure of the steamship St. Louis to arrive at the port of New York for several days after she was due. The danger to which her passengers were subjected would have been avoided by proper inspection of her boilers. Other vessels have constantly been allowed to go to sea without adequate provision for extinguishing fires, for lowering lifeboats, and for protecting in other ways the lives of those on board. Ferryboats, on which thousands daily go to and from their work, have been allowed to remain ill fitted with life-preservers. Either through dishonesty or inefficiency, the Steamboat Inspection Service has failed in great measure to prevent the continuance of these and similar conditions which might almost any day have resulted in a shocking disaster. Without waiting for such a disaster to occur, President Roosevelt and Secretary Shaw have made a radical change in the administration of the service. Mr. Uhler, who has now become head of the bureau, is a man not only of high integrity, but of practical knowledge of his subject, executive ability, and a spirit of enthusiasm that is contagious. These traits may be illustrated by what has been told in the New York "Evening Post" of his work as President of the Marine Engineers' Association of the United States. When he held that office, which is the highest in the craft, he traveled about educating the men in their work. "He would set up his blackboard,' recounts Representative Miner, whom the "Evening Post" quotes, "and call them around him as a schoolmaster does his

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pupils. He would set them to working out problems, and he made them do their own studying and thinking with everything. . . . He seemed to imbue them with his own spirit, and he put down drinking and deviltry wherever he went." This is the sort of chief the Steamboat Inspection Service supremely needs. The appointment, in which Secretary Cortelyou has a share, is a highly meritorious one, and is more important than many appointments that occasion much more discussion.

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Premier Combes's Victory

Last week, in the French Chamber of Deputies, M. Combes, the Prime Minister, obtained a more signal victory than any which he has yet won. By the law of 1900 it is now necessary for all associations in France, religious or otherwise, to obtain governmental authorization in order to maintain a legal existence or to exercise their functions. This measure was chiefly directed against the monastic associations, particularly those of the male teaching orders, whose schools are believed to be hotbeds of political intrigue. As is well known, the Radicals and Socialists now in power in France believe that all the Roman Catholic orders represent the negation of human liberty and the abdication of individual personality. Some orders declined to apply for authorization and withdrew from France; others, knowing that they had no chance of being authorized, also withdrew. On the other hand, a large number applied for authorization; some of these applications were granted. Definite refusals were advised, however, by the Cabinet in the cases of many of the monastic orders, and the Cabinet appealed to Parliament for confirmatory action. The appeal was referred by the Chamber of Deputies to a committee, which made a report in sympathy with the Cabinet's stand. Last week the Chamber itself voted to adopt the committee's report, and the majority vote is large enough to indicate that, notwithstanding any defection, the Cabinet commands more than sufficient strength to put in execution its policy of terminating the existence of objectionable religious teaching orders and of substituting a system of governmental schools. Of course such a triumph of drastic policy has not been obtained without much irritation and the creation of apparently needless animosities. Some of the excluded orders have performed admirably self-sacrificing eleemosynary work, and others have not the less admirably served French religious and political interests abroad, especially in the Far East. In these cases it would have seemed wise and just that the mother-houses in France should be kept open, and indeed this might possibly have happened if the vote could have been taken on each individual association separately. Such a course was naturally deprecated by the Government as involving it in great uncertainty and perhaps ultimate defeat. The tie which bound the questionable associations together was that they all depended on chiefs residing in Rome; consequently, according to the claim of Radical opponents, the members must be regarded as men without a country. The situation, both politically and religiously, is one of extreme interest. Friend and foe alike agree that no more thorough proscription has taken place since the days of the French Revolution.

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Taxation in Italy

In a recent number of the Toronto "Sun" Professor Goldwin Smith points out the ways in which the Italian people are ground down by taxation: "At the gate of every city there is a custom-house to take toll of the poor man's morsel of coarse bread and cup of thin wine. The tax-gatherer goes round, counting every leaf of tobacco that is grown. Salt is taxed, and the tax is so rigorously enforced that salt cannot even be taken from the sea." It is true that the burden of taxation in Italy continues to be crushing, especially in comparison with England, France, and Germany. Italy is taxed from two to five times as much as the latter countries are on petroleum, coffee, sugar, and salt. As for England, though the average wealth is three times as great as Italy's, the yearly interest-charge is not so large as in the Peninsula. Not only has taxation reached its highest point in Italy and cannot be increased, but this injustice is made tenfold more bitter because the poor realize that the rich often contrive, through

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the favor of the collectors, to evade payment of their due share. Hence Socialism flourishes proportionately, having as its express object to start a revolution, overthrow the Government, set up a Commune, abolish the army and navy, and, above all, reduce the present burden of taxation. It is, then, as surprising as it is pleasant to note that Italian budgets now show a balance on the right side of the ledger. Commenting on them, Signor Maggiorino Ferraris, editor of that famous fortnightly, the "Nuova Antologia," declares, "I do not know of a country in Europe where the budget is in a healthier condition than in Italy." If Italy suffers by comparison with France and Germany in matters of taxation, in matters of national credit France and Germany now suffer by comparison. No part of Europe has been supposed to be more harassed by excessive taxation and depression of industries than has Italy; yet the Italian budgets would seem to show that she is, for the time being, really in the best condition of any European country. Deficits have been transformed into surpluses, first, by the extension of the wine industry; Italy now sells wine in vast quantities throughout the world. Again, the exportation of fruit, vegetables, and butter has been trebled during twenty years, while the export of cheese has been quintupled. More remarkable still is the industrial growth, which now requires nearly three times as much coal as it did two decades ago, in addition employing a vast amount of electrical power; in no country in the world has the development of electricity been more remarkable. Italy has long built her own locomotives, wagons, ships, and machines, and has woven her own cottons, woolens, silks; she now builds and weaves also for foreign countries. The result of all this is seen, not only in favorable budgets, but also in the fact that Italian securities are quoted at par, and the gold premium on Italian currency has vanished. It would seem as if this flourishing condition presented an opportunity for the lessening of the burden of taxation, and we are glad to learn that the State is to make a beginning in the grain and flour schedule. The natural resources of Italy are of the best; militarism and bad financing have been her curse.

English Political Parties It is asserted that since the last general elections in Great Britain the aggregate Conservative vote has declined seven per cent., while the Liberal vote has increased fifty-three per cent. The seats thus far affected are so few in number that the Tory majority in the House of Commons may continue to lose by-election contests and yet remain strongly intrenched in office. The reverses of last week, however, in supposedly safe constituencies, are none the less striking. At Woolwich, in succession to Lord Charles Beresford, the winning candidate was Mr. Crooks, a Liberal, and, what is more significant, a member of the Labor party. His majority was over three thousand; it was due principally to the fact that the constituency, which had never hitherto polled over 10,500 votes, polled more than 14,000. At Rye, in succession to Mr. Brookfield, Conservative, Mr. Hutchinson, Liberal, was chosen by a majority of over five hundred, obtaining more than two thousand more votes than he did in 1900, when he opposed Mr. Brookfield, while the Conservative vote fell off about a thousand. At North Fermanagh, Ireland, in succession to Mr. Archdale, Conservative, Mr. Mitchell, Liberal, was elected by a majority of 150. These are the first Liberal gains since that party took up a definite attitude in the army controversy. Mr. Winston Churchill seems following in his father's footsteps as the leader of a new fourth party brought into being by the present condition of criticism of military methods. The division last week in the House of Commons on the amendment to the army estimates (providing for the reduction of the army by 27,000 men) shows, as even the London "Times" admits, that the revolt against the methods of the present Cabinet is one to be seriously reckoned with. Two events will nevertheless aid the Cabinet. The reappearance in England of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary, can be compared only with the returns to Rome of victorious generals and pro-consuls, and will probably strengthen the Cabinet materially. A far more striking addition of strength, however, is likely to come through the introduction of the promised Irish Land Bill, which, it is confidently assumed by Conservatives and

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Liberals alike, will largely follow the lines laid down by the recent conference between Irish landlords and tenants, when, apparently for the first time in Irish history, agreement was reached between these two classes. If such a measure could be passed, it might easily stand as the most vital piece of British legislation in our time. It has already accomplished the seemingly impossible task of putting the Irish Nationalist party in Parliament under full restraint, and for the first time in a long period this party no longer retards the course of public business.

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The Death of Dean Farrar

The Very Rev. Frederic William Farrar, whose "Life of Christ," "Life and Works of St. Paul," and other religious books have had a wide reading in America as well as in England, died last Sunday. He was born in Bombay, India, in 1831. He received his bachelor's degree from the University of London, and was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was from 1876 to 1890 connected with Westminster Abbey, first as Canon and then as Archdeacon. The preaching of Canon Farrar will long remain in thousands of minds as one of the finest associations clustering about that great Abbey, and the Church of St. Margaret's in its shadow. At the time of his death he was Dean of Canterbury. He had a long experience as a teacher of boys, first as Assistant Master at Marlborough College, then Master at Harrow, and again in Marlborough College as Head Master. He seemed to have an instinct for discerning the peculiar temptations of boys and the ideals that they secretly cherish; and by this instinct he was enabled to preach to boys with peculiar effectiveness. Two of his earliest works, "Eric; or, Little by Little" and "St. Winifred's; or, the World of School," deal with English public-school life. His religious books attained a remarkable popularity. These, together with works on temperance, number over seventy titles. Their circulation has been very extended, and their influence has been for tolerance, breadth, and hopefulness. Indeed, the phrase, "the larger hope," to which he gave currency, well epitomizes this influence. His writing is marked by readableness, fluency, and pictorial rather than creative imagination. He was one of the earliest to present the life of Christ as a picture with its background of scenery, customs, and human life. His works on the Bible, notably "The Bible: its Meaning and Supremacy," represent it, not as a repository of infallible law, but as a record of divinely inspired life. In these as in his other books, Dean Farrar was a popularizer of the less dogmatic and traditional, the more vital and reasonable, conception of religion.

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Enlarging the Conception of Theological Education

During the past winter the Union Theological Seminary of New York has been carrying on a number of "courses for lay workers." These courses have been designed to increase the efficiency of Sunday-school teachers and officers, secretaries of Christian associations, and others engaged in church work outside of the ministry. Similar courses were given a year ago. Classes have been held not only at the Seminary itself, but in churches as well. Within a week the students of the Seminary have conducted a conference of college men for the consideration of the opportunities and work of the ministry. What the function of the minister is under present religious and intellectual conditions, what channels of usefulness are opened to him by those conditions, and how his work is viewed by laymen and ministers to-day, formed the subject of a number of addresses by representative men, some of whom have a National reputation. Fifty students from the most important Eastern colleges accepted the personal invitations to attend which had been sent them. The conference was markedly successful. These courses for lay workers and this conference on the work of the ministry are here reported in juxtaposition, because they are both indicative of a broad conception of the function of a theological seminary. The traditional view has been that the function of the seminary is to supply its students with a technical or quasi-technical training in certain branches of learning supposed to be suitable for a clergyman's mind. The view which is here exemplified is that the function of the seminary is to supply the Church with

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men and women mentally and spiritually equipped for the work which the Church of the present has to do. The latter view includes all that is of lasting importance in the former—for a part of the work of the Church is to maintain scholarly standards in religious investigation and thinking—but it contains more besides. It includes within its range practice in practical service for men, as Union Settlement, vitally connected with the Seminary, testifies; it includes also the improvement of the work of the laity and the increase of the number of well-educated men to enter upon special training for the ministry, as these courses and this conference bear witness. The Union Seminary is doing much toward enlarging and vivifying the conception of what the aims of the theological seminary should be.

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The Beecher Memorial

The proposal for a memorial to Henry Ward Beecher was laid before Plymouth Church last Friday evening. In the absence of the pastor of the church, the plan was put before the church by the Chairman of the Memorial Committee, Mr. Elijah R. Kennedy, substantially as it has been already reported in these columns. The place determined upon for the Memorial is on the west side of the church building. The property on Orange Street, from which the main entrance to the church leads, has already been bought. At the meeting it was proposed that lots should be obtained so that the property would reach through to the rear of the church on Cranberry Street. In that case the Memorial would cover a ground space of fifty by two hundred feet. Mr. Kennedy declared that the hall would be as fine as anything of the kind in the world. In stating his own opinion he said he would like to see a reading-room and library, not to be a miscellaneous collection of books, but the best possible collection of works on Christian patriotism. A committee of ten was appointed to take up the matter of the fund and to provide plans so that Plymouth Church might do its part in raising funds. Mr. B. F. Blair was made the Chairman of this committee. It was announced that $42,113.46 had been pledged for the Memorial. The Treasurer of the fund informs us that over $13,000 has been paid in up to the date of our going to press. It should be added that the subscriptions received are from men of different denominations and different political faiths; the memorial is neither denominational nor political in its character.

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The American Tract Society

Last week the annual meeting of the American Tract Society was held in Washington. During the year publications have been issued in English, German, Italian, Bohemian, Polish, Hungarian, Spanish, and in the dialects of India and the Pacific Islands. The number of distinct publications is now nearly nine thousand, of which about two thousand are volumes. The whole number of tracts and periodicals reaches nearly eight hundred millions, and does not include the millions of tracts and volumes issued at missionary stations in foreign lands. There is no more serious question than that of supplying wholesome reading matter for the great masses of people who never enter a book-store, seldom are found in a church, and are practically outside of Christian influences. These immigrants, miners, lumbermen, fishermen, day laborers in cities, sailors, and soldiers, are, for the most part, not ill-intentioned nor illiterate. Even those who are foreign-born can generally read, and will read, if only they can find something that they can understand. Another phase of the same problem appears in the Philippines, Cuba, and Porto Rico. From each one of these comes word of a great desire for reading. Upon the quality that is furnished will depend the quality of the self-government in those islands. The question takes on another form, yet has the same substance, if we turn to what are known as mission lands. The churches of America send out a large number of missionaries, employ an army of native preachers, teachers, and other helpers, organize churches, and have already accomplished marvels in Asia, Africa, and the South Seas. The American Tract Society's colporteurs meet the immigrants as they land, and give to each in his own tongue a message of helpfulness in his new life; don the miner's costume, that they may gain fellowship with the toilers underground; seek

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out the lumber camps, the fisher folk, the gangs in subways or on railroads. Its libraries cheer sailors and soldiers on ships or in camp. It publishes child's papers for the school children of the West Indies, and papers, tracts, and books for all of every language under the flag. It has recently donated a printing-press to an American mission in India, and its gifts of money and books receive heartiest thanks from laborers of every denomination in every country of the world. Keeping pace with the advance in modern methods, it has enlarged the scope of its work till it includes, not merely the tract as known a century ago, but books by noted authors, newspapers, and annotated editions of the Scriptures in twenty-one languages, while it aids the publication of a large number of others.

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A Spokesman for Both Church and Workingman

An appointment has recently been made in the Presbyterian Church which seems to us indicative of a wholesome change that is taking place in more than one religious body. It implies a recognition on the part of the Christian Church that the alienation from it of the great mass of wage-earners has become a distinct phase of present religious conditions, in the United States at any rate. No one is better aware of this alienation than the wage-earners themselves. Indeed, it is the fact that this is a conscious alienation that makes the relationship of wage-earners to the Church different from that of other men. It is because he was once a mechanic, an employee in a factory, that the Rev. Charles Stelzle, of St. Louis, understands what this separation between the Church and the workingman means from the point of view of each side. This fact has been one of the causes of his success as pastor of the Markham Memorial Presbyterian Church in St. Louis, in a section of the city where the inhabitants are mainly manual laborers. As the readers of The Outlook know, Mr. Stelzle has made some special study of the attitude of trade-union leaders toward the Church. By early environment and training, by the nature of his ministerial work, and by special investigation, Mr. Stelzle is, therefore, peculiarly fitted for carrying out an undertaking for which he has recently been selected by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. He is to make a tour of the large cities with a two-fold purpose: on the one hand, to place the claims of the Church before the workingmen; and, on the other hand, to present the claims of the workingmen before the churches. He has a well-achieved right to speak for both. Whatever the immediate outcome of Mr. Stelzle's tour may be, the very proposal of it is a sign that at least one branch of the Church is openly admitting the existence of a condition which, because it is not very creditable to the Church, has been officially either denied or ignored. This branch of the Church is aware that the condition is serious and has taken a very wise first step toward meeting it.

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The Liquor Interests and Home Rule

In Vermont and New Hampshire the liquor interests have been conducting a vigorous and successful campaign for the principle of local option, but in Rhode Island, in New York, and in Illinois they have been conducting a campaign equally vigorous against this very principle. Even in New Hampshire the bill which they introduced into the Legislature to substitute local option for prohibition, itself violated the local option principle. It permitted the towns to vote as to whether they will have saloons or not, but it forced the saloons upon the cities whether they wished to license them or not, and forced the towns to license liquor-selling in hotels. Last week, however, the temperance forces of New Hampshire aroused themselves and secured the amendment of the bill, before its final passage, so as to secure complete local option everywhere. In Rhode Island the disregard of the local option principle by the liquor interests has been still more gross. The residents of Block Island voted by a large majority not to license the sale of liquor in their township; but the liquor interests, with the aid of the State machine, secured a hurried special act of the Rhode Island Legislature forcing the saloon upon the people of Block Island against their protest. The temperance people of the State

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are now in arms to secure the repeal of this special law, but thus far without success.

In New York the violation of the home-rule principle by the liquor interests is as flagrant as in Rhode Island. It is not, indeed, so brazen in its effrontery, but is more contemptible, because it substitutes stealth for boldness. The present New York law concedes local option only to rural communities. The people in towns and villages are permitted to decide every year whether they will license the sale of liquor in stores, bar-rooms, or saloons. It was not known that this law was in danger of attack from any quarter, when a few alert temperance people suddenly learned that the Assembly Excise Committee had decided to report favorably a bill introduced by a Mr. Yale, denying the people in any district the right to vote upon the sale of liquor by hotels. If this bill is passed, any man who pays the tax may open a so-called hotel in any community in the State and sell liquor on Sundays as well as week-days. The experience of the cities with the so-called Raines Law hotels indicates that they are even worse, as a rule, than bar-rooms without hotel accessories. If this bill is enacted into law, no community, however great the majority against license, can prevent the establishment within it of a center of degrading influences with licensed activity seven days in the week. This measure ought to enlist against it all who believe in local self-government. It ought to secure the support of those only who believe in the free and unrestricted sale of liquor regardless of the sentiments and opinions of the local community. It is not easy to think of any law which the Legislature could enact which would more directly attack the principle of home rule, to which every party in New York, if not in every American State, is absolutely committed by its platform pledges to the people. The Yale bill should call forth the indignant protest, not only of those who care for enforceable temperance laws, but of all people who believe in the principles of democracy.

In Illinois—the remaining State in which the liquor interests are conspicuously arrayed against the home-rule principle—we are glad to state that their attitude is defensive rather than offensive, for in Illinois it is the anti-saloon forces that are pursuing an aggressive campaign. They are demanding, with apparently an overwhelming popular sentiment back of them, that the State shall have a law by which the people of every community shall constitute the licensing board and shall have a right to keep saloon-free their neighborhoods, towns, and counties. The Illinois measure is of far-reaching importance, and is being pushed with vigor by the Anti-Saloon League. The success of the similar league in Ohio indicates that the Illinois movement is certain to triumph if its supporters have enlisted for the war and not merely for one campaign. The principle it would establish is one which the liquor interests must accept when it hurts them, as well as espouse when it helps them. Every community has a right to govern itself, if it does not thereby injure the State. No one can contend that the State is injured when any community closes the bar-rooms within its borders. The right of the community under our system of self-government is absolute, and by the exercise of this right a steadily increasing part of the territory of this country can be effectively freed from the impoverishing and degrading traffic of the saloon.

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Trades-Unionism and the Individual

One objection brought against trades-unionism is that it reduces all men to the same level; fixes a certain standard of wages for all alike, the good and the poor worker, the expert and the inexpert; and thus puts a premium on laziness and shiftlessness by denying to energy and intelligence its just reward. This, if true, is a fatal objection to trades-unionism. For under our present industrial system a number of workmen unite in making an article which is the joint product of their various forms of labor, so that the incentive furnished by pride in the product of one's labor is taken away. If, in addition, all men doing the same kind of work are required to receive the same rate of wages, irrespective of the quality of the work or the amount produced by it, then the economic incentive furnished by increased returns for increased or improved

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work is taken away. The reader will recall the parable of the laborers in the vineyard, in which the lord of the vineyard gave a penny to each laborer, whether he had worked all day long or only for the last hour. If this were the regular method of paying wages practiced by the employer of the parable, it is very certain that before long the laborers would have declined the invitation to labor until the twelfth hour.

The object of life is the development of individual men and women. If trades-unionism tends to prevent such development, by treating all alike, if it fixes a maximum rate of compensation and gives this to the poorest workman and prevents the best workman from getting any more, it is radically bad. No economic advantage can compensate for discouraging endeavor, dwarfing growth, and reducing all men to the level of the poorest or even of the average. To ascertain what is the custom of trades-unions in this respect, The Outlook some time ago addressed a letter to five of the largest trades-unions in the country. It selected for this inquiry trades-unions of different types. They included miners, tailors, printers, masons, machinists, and railroad employees. In addition, The Outlook prints an interview with a trades-union representative, whose high character is attested by the positions he has occupied in this city outside his trade, as President of the Social Reform Club, and as a member of the Executive Committee of the Citizens' Union. The answers to these inquiries, addressed by letter and in person, are printed in full elsewhere in this issue. We invite our readers to give to them a careful and unprejudiced reading. We might leave them thus without note or comment, but it seems proper to add a few words as to the result of this inquiry on our own minds.

It is clear that it is not an essential characteristic of trades-unions to fix a maximum rate of wage. Not one of the trades-unions to which The Outlook has applied for information does so. We have not been able to learn, by a somewhat extended inquiry, that any trades-union ever does so or ever has done so. If any of our readers can specify any trades-union which puts any such limit on the rate of compensation which an expert workman may receive, we shall be glad to have him give us the information, provided he is able to speak with certain knowledge, not at second hand, and to specify the trades-union, so that we may ask it for an explanation and give it an opportunity to be heard in its own defense. Nor, apparently, is the freedom of individuals to make more than the standard rate of wage a mere nominal freedom. It appears from these letters to be habitually exercised. Mr. Boulton tells the rather remarkable instance of one man who receives more than double the standard rate of wages by reason of the excellence and value of his work. We judge from the letters and from Mr. Boulton's article that no trades-union interferes to prevent any member from earning the largest possible wage. It only prevents the wage for any member falling below a minimum standard.

And, apparently, only one of the trades-unions represented in this correspondence fixes a maximum output. This is the United Garment Workers of America. The General Secretary of that organization states that such a maximum output is enforced "for the purpose of preventing rush work." Other inquiries, however, lead us to believe that there are other trades-unions which fix a maximum *amount of product*, and that members are not allowed to produce more than this maximum. Two grounds are alleged in justification for this practice: first, that it prevents hurried, careless, and imperfect work; second, that it prevents employers from hiring some abnormally expert workman, and making him a standard to whom all others are unreasonably expected to conform, under penalty of a fine or a reduction of the wage. We suspect a third reason is still more effective, namely, that, as the trust sometimes reduces the output of the product in order to raise the price of the article, so the workingmen sometimes reduce the output of the product in order to raise the price of labor. Such an attempt to create an artificial price by producing artificial conditions is as just in the one case as in the other, and no more so.

The objection to the trades-unions that they tend to dwarf the development of the individual is probably not wholly unreasonable. Like other democratic developments of modern society, they may sometimes sacrifice the individual to the

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supposed general advantage of the mass. But the objection is probably partly due to a general impression that organization necessarily sacrifices the individual; and this is certainly an error. As a rule, the more highly developed the organization, the more highly developed the individuals of whom it is composed. Compare the days of railroads and of stage-coaches; who can doubt that the trainmen are a more intelligent class than the hostlers, and the locomotive engineers are more intelligent than the coachmen? Compare factory days with those of individualistic labor; who can doubt that the factory hands of the twentieth century are more intelligent than Silas Marner? America is politically far more highly organized than Russia; who can doubt that the American farmer is immeasurably more highly developed than the Russian farmer? It can scarcely be doubted that, in the main, labor organizations have developed the life and character of their members. On the average, union workingmen are a higher class of laborers—more intelligent, more efficient, better workers, than those who are not in the unions; the evidence of this fact is that, as a general rule, they are better paid. That trades-unions are sometimes tyrannical, vexatious, irrational, cannot be doubted. They are sometimes indifferent if not complaisant toward violence; sometimes selfishly disregard public interests in pursuing their own; sometimes are oppressive toward their own members; sometimes are irritatingly combative; sometimes disregard their moral obligations and violate their contracts; and are often grossly unjust to members of their own trade who are not also members of their own order, much as ecclesiastics were in the Middle Ages to Christians who were not also churchmen. But that, as a whole, trades-unionism tends to prevent individual development has not been proved and cannot be assumed. That they generally fix, directly or indirectly, a maximum rate of compensation, so that an exceptionally capable and efficient workman is prevented from receiving more than the average workman, appears to be disproved by these letters. Certainly no one who takes the trouble to read these semi-official statements should reaffirm the charge that trades-unionism has the habit of fixing a maximum rate of compensation, and so leveling all workmen down to an average standard, without offering some evidence to substantiate the statement.

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A Wandering Scholar

Mr. Charles G. Leland, who died in Florence last week at the age of seventy-eight, belonged to a class of wandering scholars, students, and writers which has never been large in any country, and to which Americans have not furnished many illustrious members. The spirit of adventure which formerly sent men far and wide in search of new fields of action and new forms of experience still survives, especially in peoples who have English blood in their veins; and among modern Englishmen the passion for the individual career has manifested itself in many forms. General Gordon was a type of the man of adventure in military life; Laurence Oliphant an example of the wanderer who finds novel experiences at the ends of the earth; Richard Burton an exponent of a kind of cosmopolitanism which, touching many remote things, never loses the flavor of individuality; Edward Henry Palmer, the narrow-chested, consumptive boy and student, revived in the romance of his own career, both intellectual and active, the energy, curiosity, and variety of the sixteenth century; George Borrow peddled Bibles in Spain or lived on the road with the Gypsies with equal zest; and Robert Louis Stevenson was at home in the Forest of Fontainebleau, on the rivers of France, on an emigrant train crossing the continent, in the Adirondacks, or in the South Sea Islands. Men of this class cannot work in harness; they must make their own paths, hew their own way, so to speak, and, although they are often men of fortune, they are never men content with ordinary conditions. They have the thirst for knowledge, for adventure, for different kinds of life, for experience, which sends them to the farthest corners of the globe and makes them the friend and confidant of alien races.

Of this class of modern adventurers Charles G. Leland was perhaps the most conspicuous American example. There have been other Americans in recent days, among them Mr. W. J. Stillman, who have touched life in many lands and shared in

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many unusual experiences with remote peoples; but Mr. Leland was a Gypsy Scholar in the most uncompromising sense of the phrase. He loved the open road which, to such a nature as his and that of Borrow, is the path of freedom and joy. He took delight in peoples who reversed in habit, tradition, and standard the race among whom he was born; it was his pleasure to get as far away from the established civilization as possible. Born in Philadelphia, in the old Dolly Madison house on Chestnut Street, his introduction to the magical art was almost contemporaneous with his birth. It is reported that, three days after he had opened his eyes in this world, he was carried by an old Dutch nurse into the garret, where he was found in his cradle, a Bible beside him, salt to secure long life, money in his hand to avert want, and burning candles about him. It is said that among the negroes in the country Mr. Leland was regarded as a supreme master of the voudou, and he possessed a black stone which had such magical properties that it brought pilgrims to him from long distances eager to make use of its supernatural qualities. This was precisely the kind of reputation that gave Mr. Leland the deepest satisfaction, and the people who would seek him for such a purpose were the people who most deeply interested him.

Although never an accurate scholar and never in any sense an exact man, Mr. Leland's store of curious knowledge of all sorts was laid on a broad foundation of a knowledge of substantial and real things. He was one of the members of that extraordinary school which Bronson Alcott kept for a time, in which the teacher punished himself instead of the offending pupil, by way of carrying out practically the principle of vicarious suffering. By Mr. Alcott he was introduced to Spenser's "Faerie Queene," which he knew intimately at a very early age, as he did many of Shakespeare's plays. At the age of ten he was writing verse, at fourteen he was reading Gower and Chaucer and the old English poets of their period with infinite delight, varying these serious studies with excursions into the field of occultism. He was even then something of an alchemist and not a little of a Rosicrucian. While he was yet a boy he was on intimate terms with the old French of Villon. When he entered Princeton, at the age of sixteen, one of the instructors at the college is reported to have said that there were probably not ten men in North America who had read more extensively than this young undergraduate. Naturally, the Transcendental movement, then in the air, found him what is called a "sensitive," and he was soon deep in Fichte, Schelling, Kant, and the German mystics of the earlier times. It is reported that he read the "Critique of Pure Reason" more than thirty times. Such a student, browsing at large over the whole field of knowledge and following his tastes rather than the lines of study marked out by the curriculum, invariably takes away a great mass of material from his college, but stands very low in his class. He declared later that he graduated lowest but one in his class; but the faculty, recognizing that this was not just, gave him the poem—the second highest honor.

He was on the Continent at a most exciting time, and had the great delight of going through the adventurous year of 1848 in the very heart of the popular movement in Europe. His room in Paris became a center of all sorts of queer bohemians. He heard the first shots fired in the revolution which made Louis Philippe a fugitive; and he had the proud satisfaction of rushing through the streets of Paris with a mob of students, a red shawl around his waist and a gigantic pistol in his hand. That moment on the historical barricade on the Faubourg St. Antoine was one of the most dramatic episodes in his life. Later he studied law, but adopted authorship as a profession, and made his entrance through the door of journalism. He was connected with a number of journals in New York and Philadelphia, and with one Boston anti-slavery paper. He was an indefatigably industrious and extraordinarily entertaining writer. Whenever he could, he traveled extensively through the heart of the country, studying life in its most characteristic aspects. In 1869 he returned to Europe, and for the next ten or twelve years was absorbed in the study of the Gypsies, whose language, customs, history, and character he knew by heart. He and Palmer were so thoroughly versed in

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Gypsy lore of all sorts that they could deceive the Gypsies themselves. His books on "English Gypsies" and "Gypsy Sorcery" are among the most important and fascinating contributions to this very interesting subject. He was an enthusiastic student of all folk-lore, and his knowledge of Indian folk-lore was so extensive and his ability to secure the confidence of the Indian so striking that he always believed he had Indian blood in his veins. On his return to this country in 1880 he devoted a great deal of time to the introduction of industrial education into public schools, and rendered no small service in that direction, incidentally writing some excellent text-books on the crafts. He was one of the originators of the Folk-Lore Congress held at Paris in 1889. The well-known "Hans Breitmann's Ballads," written during or not long after the Civil War, secured him almost instant National popularity.

Mr. Leland was a man of striking personality, with a vivid interest in everything which was significant of life, an insatiable curiosity, a power of production which never seemed to ebb, and a remarkable faculty of being at home with all sorts of people and of enjoying all kinds of experience. In this busy country, with its immense commercial activities and strong bent toward practical life, Mr. Leland's tastes and career stand out with striking individuality.

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The Panama Treaty Ratified

By far the most important event of the special session of the United States Senate, which has now terminated, was the ratification last week of the Panama Treaty, absolutely unamended, with the Republic of Colombia, for the construction of an isthmian canal. The vote for ratification was 73 to 5, those voting in the latter category being Senators Morgan, Pettus, Teller, Daniel, and Martin. Thus, in order to please these five men, the majority of United States Senators have not only been put to unnecessary trouble, but have been, as a public body, humiliated in the eyes of the whole world. The prestige of the Senate is indeed at a low ebb when it can be, so to speak, "held up" by a few men, who have also defied the practically unanimous opinion of the whole country.

It is only fourteen months since an even more overwhelming vote was taken in the other branch of Congress on an isthmian canal. On January 9, 1902, the Hepburn bill for a Nicaragua canal passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 308 to 2. At that time many papers were in the habit of treating the proposed waterway through Nicaragua as the only possible "American" canal. The campaign of education has made good progress since then.

The ratification is a distinct triumph for President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay, to be reckoned among the most notable of their careers. In pressing the treaty upon the Senate Mr. Roosevelt has shown a praiseworthy perseverance, which now has been crowned with deserved success.

It was evident that the great majority of Senators, irrespective of party, held—(1) That the correct view was that presented by Attorney-General Knox, in his report on the title which the Panama Canal Company is capable of giving to its property and franchises (that the company had come legitimately into possession of the canal concession, and hence had an undoubted right to transfer it to the United States); (2) that no necessity existed for inquiring into the credentials of Señor Herran, the Colombian representative; (3) that one country, in making a treaty with another, must recognize the *de facto* government of that country; (4) that the United States Government could not be accused of taking a position against the political party out of power in Colombia: and (5) that, as our Government had not "in effect committed itself to the concordat between the Pope and the Colombian Goverment," there could be no pretext for the interference by Colombian authorities with the religious affiliations of Americans in the canal zone. Three principal amendments, all unsuccessful, were offered by the Democratic minority. The first provided that the canal zone should be absolutely controlled by the United States. The second was a substitute for Article IV. of the treaty, which disavows any intention on the part of the United States to increase its terri-

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tory at the expense of South or Central America. The substitute reiterated the doctrine of non-interference with the affairs of *all* the American Republics, with the view of reassuring Mexico on that point. As Mexico may properly be regarded as constituting a part of Central America, the substitute was defeated. Every one knows that we cherish as benevolent feelings towards Mexico as towards any other American Republic. Another amendment had to do with the necessity for the canal's permanent defense, whether it needs it or not. This was defeated, on the ground that the United States is strong enough to defend the waterway without permanent fortifications, and that, in any case, it would be unwise unnecessarily to affront Colombian susceptibilities.

The pride of the Colombians, however, will receive some shock when Senator Morgan's long and bitter denunciations reach Bogota. His speeches and Senator Cullom's brief reply were all of the debate permitted to be published *in extenso*.

When the treaty is ratified by the Colombian Congress, the world will, for the first time in history, be assured that the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans are to be united by a waterway large enough to admit ships of any existing tonnage. As the necessary counterpart to that ratification, the action of the United States Senate last week is an epoch-making one. It gives to this country a commanding position as a world-power, and it adds incalculably to the world's civilizing influences.

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Lenten Meditations

The Two Lord's Prayers

And in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed into a solitary place, and there prayed.

Once he took three of his disciples up into the mountain with him, and they saw there, conversing with him, Moses and Elijah. By what strange spiritual sight did they recognize these unknown? Once he took them with him and bade them watch, and as they fell asleep they caught a sentence of his prayer, and as they wakened, in that strange moment midway between sleep and waking, they saw—or did they but feel?—the presence of an angel with their Master, strengthening him. The solitary place, then, was *not* always solitary. The communion was sometimes a communion of spirits. Each time, too, the disciples heard, or somehow knew, the answer which their Master received. His prayers were not, then, as ours too often are, mere monologues. They were true communions; an interchange of life with life; an intercommunication of earth with heaven. Once, when he entered into his closet to pray to the Father which seeth in secret, the door was left open, and the eleven heard the prayer, and John afterward recorded it. This prayer, in the seventeenth chapter of John, is the true Lord's Prayer, the real interpretation of his own spirit. It is strangely like and strangely unlike that other prayer which he gave to his disciples when they asked him for a new ritual.

That is not a distinctively Christian prayer. It belongs to all humanity. The pagan may utter it no less than the Christian. How shall we pray? With what words, in what form, by what ritual, according to what etiquette, can we, his subjects, approach acceptably the Great King? Christ's answer, applicable alike to all who feel any need of help from above, is: Come to him as children come to their father—say, "Our Father;" reverently—"Hallowed be thy name;" seeking to make his will your will, not your will his will—"Thy will be done;" for the rest, tell him simply what you want. What is it we children want? Are not our wants all comprised in these four things: Food; Forgiveness; Guidance; Strength? Ask for them; that is all.

When Christ prays, giving expression to his own deepest desires for us who are his pupils, his followers, and his friends, he comes to God in the same spirit of sonship—"Father," he says; in the same reverent desire for his Father's will, expressed less by his words than by his life, which has been one unbroken prayer that his Father's name may be hallowed—"I have glorified thee on the earth." But his petitions are not the same. He does not ask for food; he knows that the heavenly Father knoweth what things we have need of before we ask him. Nor for forgiveness; he assumes that those for

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whom he is about to die, and who have received his words and are trying, however imperfectly, to take them as the law of their life, are already forgiven. He does not even pray that they should be so guided as to escape temptation: "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world;" he is come into the world to meet its temptations and to conquer them, and he does not ask that his followers shall live apart from the world or flee from its temptations. He calls them to go into the world, not apart from it. "As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world."

He asks for us who are his pupils, his followers, and his friends far higher things than he bade his pupils ask in the first hour of their acquaintance with him, when he was interpreting to them, not his wishes for them, but their wishes for themselves. He asks that we may be kept in intimate fellowship with the Father, as he has been kept in intimate fellowship with the Father: "Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as we are one." He prays that thus they may be kept out of companionship with the Evil One, living in an evil world yet not contaminated by it, because not in companionship with its Prince: "I pray . . , that thou shouldest keep them from the Evil One." He prays that their acceptance of the truth may purify and cleanse them and make them whole: "Sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth." He prays that they may share his glory because they see it, and may see his glory because they share it: "That they may be made perfect in one; . . . that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me."

There are two Lord's Prayers: let us not confound them. The first is childhood's prayer; the prayer of a soul which has not yet learned how to pray, because it knows not what to desire. The other is Christ's own prayer; the culmination of prayer; the prayer of the Master; the prayer also of the disciple who has lived long enough with Christ to catch Christ's spirit and to wish what Christ wishes for him. He is not burdened for food—for he has learned how both to abound and how to suffer need and still to be content; nor for forgiveness—for already the song of the forgiven is singing in his heart, prelude to the new song of the redeemed in heaven; nor for escape from temptation—for the martial eagerness of the soldier is his, and his desire is to fight a good fight and come off conqueror. His prayer is that he may have fellowship with God through Jesus Christ; that he may have no fellowship with the Evil One; that he may be one with God as Christ was one with God; and that his may be the purity and health and glory that living with God and in God brings to God's children.

The Impressions of a Careless Traveler

XIII.

May 22.

WE went this morning to see a review of Italian troops in the open ground on the other side of the Tiber. In some ways Italy is more democratic than America. In New York there would have been provision at such a review for carriages, or else there would have been a stand erected on which one might, for a consideration, get seats. Not so here. Our carriage was stopped three or four blocks from the grounds where the review took place, and we had to walk the rest of the way and take our chance with the pedestrians. There was a woman who had chairs to rent, but we could see nothing if we sat down, and the chairs were valuable only because we could stand up on them and look over the heads of the people. The only carriages allowed in the place were those which brought the Court party from the Quirinal. The variety of uniforms furnished a fine color effect, and the cavalry exhibited some fine mounts; but the marching was not so good as we would have seen in the crack regiments of New York, and the cavalry line, as it galloped past us, was decidedly broken. We had a good view of the King. He sits his horse well and is a fine-looking man. My Italian companion says of him

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that he hates the show which court etiquette imposes on him, and every now and again runs away from the guard which, after the assassination of his father, is supposed to be necessary to his protection.

The occasion for this review was the visit of the Shah of Persia, which also furnished an incident curiously illustrating a political condition which it would be impossible to maintain in the United States; it could not survive the satirists. Ever since the Italian Government has occupied Rome as its capital, the Pope has confined himself to the Vatican, including the park which adjoins St. Peter's, which is all that is left of the Papal domains. These he never leaves, on the theory that to do so would be to render him subject to the civil power of Italy. The Roman Catholic countries, France, Spain, Austria—I do not know about Germany—send two ambassadors to Italy, one to the Papal court, one to the Italian court. The Vatican is the palace of the one, the Quirinal of the other. The Pope will receive no guest who comes from the Quirinal, much as, in a country town, Mrs. A., after a social quarrel with Mrs. B., is "not at home" to Mrs. B. nor to any one who comes from Mrs. B.'s house. The Shah was a visitor at the Quirinal; was prepared to pay his respects to the Pope; was informed that if he desired to be received he must go from the quarters of some ambassador to the Vatican; replied that he would go from the embassy of his own country or not at all, and left Rome without calling on the Pope. The papers say that he was deluged with telegrams and letters from all over Italy thanking him for his course. So far as I can judge from inquiry, most of the Italians are in their religious affiliations, if not in their religious convictions, Roman Catholics, but only a small minority are Papists. Every Italian is compelled to choose between loyalty to the kingdom of Italy and loyalty to the Pope; and most of the men in the towns choose the former. I do not know about the women, nor about the rural populations. I am inclined to think that if I lived in Italy I should vote for the maintenance of a large standing army, because the three years' service in camp is, next to the school system, the most efficient method of developing loyalty to the Government and counteracting the influence of the clerical party, who are avowedly in favor of overthrowing the Government and restoring Rome and the former Papal States to the Papacy.

May 24.

We had a very interesting experience today. By the kindness of Dr. Kennedy, of the American Roman Catholic Theological College, and Bishop Gorman, of the United States, we were taken into the Vatican gardens. These gardens are really a park of considerable extent, and constitute, with St. Peter's and the Vatican Palace, the remnant of the Papal territory where the Pope is the supreme authority. They are laid out with great taste, with walks and lawns and flowers and fruit trees and fountains, but are, very properly, not open to the public. Indeed, I believe that admission to them is rather difficult to obtain. We happily obtained even more. For in walking about the grounds we presently came upon a house, neither large nor ornate, which we were told was the Pope's summer retreat. Here he comes sometimes to spend a night, sometimes a week, in quasi-retirement. After some little delay, we were admitted and conducted over it, rather to the surprise of Dr. Kennedy, who had not anticipated obtaining this privilege for us. We went out on to a large balcony or platform, where we had a fine view of Rome and the surrounding hills. Then we were taken rapidly through the apartments—a reception-room, its ceiling crowned with a dome representing the blue vault of the heavens, with the constellations indicated on it by gilt stars, each constellation having an appropriately sized electric light or group of lights, so that at night it furnished a sort of miniature facsimile of the heavens; the oratory, a completely furnished chapel, but not larger than a moderate-sized bedroom; the throne or audience room, with a plain armchair of that prescribed type which is used by the Pope on all official occasions, and a beautifully inlaid desk, a present to him by I forget what royal donor; and, not least interesting, his bedroom and dining-room, both in one. The dining-table was hardly larger than an ordinary dressing-table, and could not well have served as a dining-table for more than one. "Where does the Pope eat," I asked innocently enough, "when he has com-

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pany?" "He never has company at table," was the reply; "he always eats alone." "Always?" I asked; "are there no official functions at which he eats with others?" "Rarely," was the reply, "and then never at the same table with any other person, always at a table by himself."

And to this the Pope is condemned by the requirements of his position. Set apart from the rest of mankind, without wife or children or anything which most of us call a home, without society, or the familiarities of equal friendship, or variety of life, or enjoyments of travel, confined by the policy of his Church—how far he is personally responsible for that policy I do not know—to one palace and its park; eating, sleeping, living, generally worshiping, in isolation—this is the price he must pay for the honor of being the head of the most influential organization in the world, and the privilege of rendering to mankind what doubtless he accounts the highest service which God permits any of his children to render to their fellow-men. It is a costly purchase; yet if I could believe as he does, I should also believe with him that it was worth the price.

May 25.

To-morrow we leave Rome, and I know nothing about the modern city. I had meant to attend a meeting of Parliament, which is in session, but I have had no time. I cannot compare the Rome of to-day with that of twenty-five years ago, except as the accounts of other travelers give a basis for the comparison. Taking that as a basis, the contrast is startling. The city is as clean as Paris or Vienna, and much cleaner than Naples, London, or New York; the health of the city, as indicated by its death-rate, is equal to that of any European city of equal size; the Pontine marshes are drained, and the Roman fever has well-nigh disappeared, though those who live on the Campagna protect themselves from the pestilential mosquitoes by gloves for their hands, wire masks for their faces, and nettings for the doors and windows of their houses—alas! no chain armor has yet been invented which is proof against the less pestilential but not less irritating fleas; the water is excellent, the water supply abundant, and the fountains are a feature of the city which I wish some man of wealth would introduce into New York City; the cab service is cheap and the cabmen obliging—the warnings I had received against extortion have not been justified by my experience. I decided on arrival that when I could not afford a franc for a cab I would walk or ride in a horse-car; and as a franc was a trifle over the legal tariff, and the cabmen on the neighboring stand soon learned my custom, I found myself hailed by three or four men at once when I came within their sight, and was always well served. The cost of living is greater than at Naples, but not great for a capital; the owners of private picture galleries open them to the public with a generosity which has no parallel in any city in America, and in them are to be found some of the very finest works of the older artists. Of modern art I have seen but little, I might say nothing save for a visit to the studio of one of our fellow-countrymen, Mr. Ezekiel, whose "Jefferson," now erected in the public square at Louisville, and whose "Dead Christ" in Paris, copies of both of which he showed us, impressed me as remarkable alike in originality of conception and sincerity of feeling.

The Italian people impress me as religious in temperament, and yet, by reason of circumstances, without a religion. Their patriotism and their piety are at war, and unhappy is the lot of any people of whom that is true. I cannot but believe that this is the fault of the Church rather than of the State. "The Italians," said a Waldensian clergyman to me, "with few exceptions, either fear God or do not believe in him." This seems to me too epigrammatic to be true, and yet to veil a truth beneath the epigram. They have lost their faith in the old forms; they have found no new forms through which to express their faith. They are no longer Romanists; they certainly are not Protestants—they cannot be; their temperament demands a richer, warmer, less intellectual, more emotional, more sensuous symbolism than Protestantism affords. They are without great leaders; for in politics Cavour, and in religion Gavazzi, have left no successor. And yet the people are moving upward and forward, though without leaders and without programme, to a higher form of life than any that Italy has ever known, even in the best days of her past. L. A.

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The Efficiency of Union Labor

BY A. J. BOULTON

Mr. A. J. Boulton, former Vice-President of New York Stereotypers' Union No. 1 and member of the Executive Committee of the Citizens' Union, has for many years held a high place among energetic workers in public-spirited movements, and two years ago was elected President of the Social Reform Club—the first trades-unionist to occupy this position. The following interview with Mr. Boulton, which took place at the request of the editors of The Outlook, turned upon the questions of efficiency and discipline, which the unions are often commonly believed to overlook in their effort to wrest from employers the largest possible wage for the least possible work. The conversation began with regard to the high wages asked by the union, but soon and naturally led to the points upon which the attitude of the unions has been most sharply arraigned. The questions are printed only where necessary to introduce Mr. Boulton's answers regarding them.—THE EDITORS.

HOW do union wages in New York compare with non-union?

Among stereotypers the union scale is now $27 a week. There are non-union men in this city getting as low as $16. Hardly any of them are getting over $20. The only large non-union office in the city pays from $16 to $22.

Could you save it money and unionize it?

Yes, I think we could. By putting our men into another office we saved it twelve dollars a week.

How?

By doing the work with two men less—or really with three men less. They had nine men in the office, and paid wages running from fourteen dollars a week up to thirty dollars for the foreman. Our scale is twenty-seven dollars a week. The foreman need not necessarily get any more than the men. That is at the option of the employer. As a matter of fact, the foreman of the newspaper referred to gets thirty-five dollars for seven nights, but he need not receive more than the men are paid. Our foreman is a working foreman in an office like that. When it was a non-union office, the foreman very largely walked around.

Do union stereotypers need less oversight?

Yes. They know as much about the business as the man in charge. They have all served their apprenticeship, and they know their work.

You claim that the union has the best men in the trade?

Yes. All the best men are always anxious to get in. They know they can't get in unless they are competent. Competent men try to get into the union because wages are higher in the union than out. We test men to see if they are efficient. We give a stranger in town a permit to go to work. He cannot be admitted to the organization unless he is getting the scale. His efficiency is guaranteed by the fact that the employer is willing to pay him the scale. The employer is practically the determining factor as to whether he is efficient or not. We seek to get every competent man in. We offer a large selection to employers. We say to the employers, We have an organization of 550 members. You don't have to keep any one of our men a day longer than you want. You have all those men to pick from. If you have a non-union office, you have no men to pick from. The "——" is now the only non-union newspaper office in the city. Its foreman can neither get men nor suggestions from other offices. He is not in a position to go around and see all the improvements that have been made. If I meet the foreman of another office, and he tells me of some way to more quickly dry a mold or get out a starter, I take advantage of the information. By systematizing the work and having each man do the kind of work he can do best, the union does cheaper work. It is by this systematizing of work that New York can compete with other places.

How does your scale for stereotypers in New York compare with what is paid in smaller cities?

Our scale in New York runs from fifty

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cents to one dollar a day more than in any other place in the country. It is fifty cents a day more than in Boston, and a dollar a day more than in Chicago or Philadelphia.

Are the New York union stereotypers superior to the union stereotypers in those places?

Yes; very much. For instance, we require a five years' apprenticeship. They require only four. High wages in every line of work attract the good mechanic. It is the good man who comes on from those places to New York. He feels that he is a hustler, and he says to himself, I am competent to hold a position anywhere, and it is as natural for him to seek the place where he can earn the best wages as for water to run down hill. Many of our men here have to go out of town because they are crowded out. The bosses won't pay them the money when they can get better men. Many of those who were born in New York have drifted to Philadelphia and other places, because they were not speedy enough as far as the work was concerned. Nearly all last summer most of our men in the book and job offices were getting $27 a week, though the scale was then only $24. The bosses were voluntarily paying more. There was a rivalry to get first-class men. New York publishers do the stereotyping for the big editions more cheaply than it can be done anywhere else. They make the plates here and send them all over the country. New York gets trade away from other places.

Of course you want to remember this—that a great city like New York is where the great plants are. They have superior machinery, and the machinery plays quite a part in the cheapening of production. Every new machine that can take the place of a high-priced man will find a ready sale in New York City.

What is the attitude of your union toward machinery?

Our union has always favored machinery. We have never tried to obstruct its use in any way. I think the trade-union movement is too intelligent to have any other feeling than that opposition to the employment of improved machinery would be an injury to the union. The unions which oppose it sooner or later realize that they have made a mistake.

Some unions have successfully fought off improved machinery. In the glass trust the company and the employees entered into contracts. They agreed to use certain machinery, and made a contract as to the output. The glass trust wanted the plate-glass workers to shut down in May instead of June, to limit the output. The workers agreed to this, fearing that the employers might introduce new machinery if they didn't. The advantage to the glass trust of limiting production would be so great that they would be willing to let the new machinery go. Of course the men would not be willing to concede to the glass trust's wishes unless the glass trust would give them something in return. The wages average about $4.50 a day.

I think that the general effect of the trade-union movement in this country has been an incentive to the production of improved machinery. High wages always offer an incentive to the introduction of improved machinery. In a part of the country where wages are low an employer would not have this incentive. But where he sees a lot of men working and making four dollars a day, he thinks, If I make a machine that can take the place of some of those men, it will be wanted. If they are getting only two dollars a day, it is not worth bothering about. The auto-plate machine, for instance, costs $20,000, so unless it displaced a number of high-priced men it would not pay. The higher the wages the greater the incentive for improved machinery. The high-priced men are always more intelligent and better able to use high-priced machinery.

Shorter hours, too, have been an advantage to the employer. In shorter hours a man is able to keep his mind alert. The longer he works, the greater the danger of accidents. A man becomes stupid and careless and lacks energy after long hours of work.

Something that the trade-union has learned is that improved machinery does not displace the number of men that at first glance it appears to do. I can remember when, fifteen years ago, the molding-machine was introduced into the stereotyping business. It is used on newspapers and magazines for taking an impression from type. The machine does in half a minute what it would take a man

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three minutes to do. It cheapened the getting out of the plates, so that the publishers used more plates. The same thing is true of the autoplate machine. If they now made only the same number of plates as before its introduction, fewer men would be employed, but as a fact they make more plates. I find very little hostility even outside of our union to improved machinery, partly from the idea that it would be foolish to oppose it, and also from the idea that to cheapen production is going to increase production.

What about the common statement that the unions fix a maximum scale of wages?

I do not know of any trade-union that imposes a maximum scale. I do not think any trade-union would be so foolish. The members do not feel that every one ought to be placed on the same level. They feel their individual worth as much as if they were not members of a union. If we had such a maximum, the best men would want to stay out. Our object is always to get the best men into the union. Sometimes we find good men who oppose the union, but when we do we try to secure them, as they strengthen the union. But the man who is not competent we want to leave outside. He is no menace to us on the outside, and if inside he does not give satisfaction. If the employer pays every one the same scale, it is his own fault. The union merely fixes the minimum scale, and we are glad to have him pay more.

One-third of the men in our union were receiving premium wages during the past year because business was brisk, but there never has been a time when a considerable number of them were not receiving premium wages. There were always some experts who received more. Map work is difficult work, and some men are much more apt at it than others. If a firm has a good deal of map work, it is anxious to get the very best men. To secure them it must offer premium wages.

The scale is never raised unless the business warrants it. It is always done through discussion and agreement. We meet the employers and talk over the matter with them. Our scale in book and job offices was raised from $4 to $4.50 last fall. The employers had increased the selling price of the plates, and we thought it no more than fair that, if the value of the product had increased, the producer was entitled to a share in the increase.

The premium men go up with the scale. Quite a number of them now are getting premium wages. For example, take ——, the foreman of a large shop which sends its molds to twelve different cities. The molds are all made in New York City, mailed to the branch offices, plates cast there, and sent out. He is at present receiving $60 a week, over twice the union scale, and there is no jealousy among the members because he gets such high wages. This foreman has the rare knack of handling men to the best advantage, and competition for his services between two large offices sent his wages up from $40 (at which he had worked for years) to $60 a week. This is an individual matter with which the union has nothing to do.

Another illustration, but this time a body of men: The proof-readers on morning newspapers, as a rule, receive premium wages. The "Herald" pays $33 a week, the "Tribune" $32, the "Journal" and "Times" $30, the "World" $29, and I don't know a single office that pays as low as the minimum scale set by the union, which is $27. And the office that has its proof-reading done best and cheapest is the one that pays the highest wages, because the best and speediest men naturally gravitate there.

How about the man who is a little slow or a little old? How does the union affect him?

The man who is getting a little old or slow has, as a rule, to get on the substitute list. We try to "work him in" three or four days a week. He gets more money for three or four days a week at our scale than he would as a non-union man for a full week's work. We try to get him in a big office, where by working a little extra the men can carry him along. The younger men will work a little more to make up for his deficiency. They always sympathize with a man who is getting along in years, and do everything they can to help him along. We usually don't call him an old man till he gets to be sixty. When I was working on the "——" there was a change to be made there, and Mr. ——, the manager, said to the foreman, "We are going to employ

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another man, and I don't want one who is gray-haired or who wears glasses." The foreman hires the men, but the manager tells him the kind he wants. The manager will go and look around the office, and say to the foreman, "There are too many men with gray hair and wearing glasses. You want to get some younger men in their place." Some of the older men leave town and get places in the smaller towns, where there is not so much rush. There is always a great drive in a big city like this. Of course that rush is more intense in a newspaper than in a book or job office.

The fact that the union has the scale so high keeps the employers from employing these old men. There is no question about that. A few years ago I was vice-president of the organization, and wanted to unionize the "—— ——" in Brooklyn. I went to see the owner, and explained to him that the composing-room was union, and for a trifling expense he could make the stereotyping-office union. There were two men there. One was being paid our scale, the other not so much. I said that by paying five dollars a week extra he could make it a union office. He said, "Now, Boulton, —— there has worked for me fifteen years. He is a good, faithful man, and I could not see him go out of town." I said, "We do not propose to have him go out of town. We propose to take him into the organization. We can't take him in according to our rules while he is being paid less." The owner said, "I realize that I shall have to unionize my office if you insist on it. But if you do, I am not going to pay the scale to a man who is blind in one eye and has no energy. If I am going to pay the scale I want a strapping young fellow in here." He lost his interest in his old workman at once.

Have you not some rules by which you limit the work a man shall do?

No; we have no such rules at all. It is because we have not that the employer pays premium wages. The employer or the foreman, as the case might be, finds out that a man turns out good work and a great deal of it. Then they say, "If we don't give him more money, some other firm will find out about him and he will be offered more somewhere else." When a man is speedy and does good work at the same time, even the boys get to talking about it.

But aren't there in some trades rules against speeding?

Carpenters don't object to being speeded, but they do object to the employer selecting a young, vigorous fellow and quietly saying to him, "If you hustle to the best of your ability, I will give you a quarter of a dollar or half a dollar a day more; but don't say anything about it." He understands that he is given that money to set a pace for the rest of the men. That thing is worked so underhandedly that even when the men stand in line to get their pay in envelopes, the speeder gets only the same pay as the rest on the outside of the envelope. The employer goes around and points to his work, and expects the same of the others. When the men find that some man is rushing, they know very well that he is the driver, and he is cutting out a pace.

Yet the carpenter organization does not pretend to discipline those fellows. It doesn't fine them, but there is a feeling among the men against them. The organization always feels that by turning out a large product it makes a better claim for high wages But when a big strong fellow and fast workman sets a pace that it is impossible for the rest to follow, that is not fair. They are all willing to do a good hard day's work. My brother, who is a builder, said he never saw a time when union men were unwilling to do a good day's work. The men who loafed on him were always found to be the non-union men.

When my uncle went into partnership with him in the construction business over ten years ago, they took a large job of fourteen houses, small stores with flats overhead. When it came time to do the carpentry work, the walking delegate appeared and said to my uncle, "Mr. Boulton, you have got to employ card men here." My uncle said, "I have figured on this job with non-union men. I have been figuring on doing this with the men I have in the shop [the unions don't bother much with men in the shops]. If you will allow me to finish it with them, I will agree to use union men in my shop hereafter." The delegate said, "You can do it cheaper with union men. I want to put union men on so you will make

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something on the job." The old gentleman got indignant, and said, "Do you mean to tell me I don't know my business?" The delegate said, "If you think you can do this job cheaper with non-union men than with union men, you don't understand it. You ought not to be in the business."

They talked it over and my uncle said, "Well, I suppose the non-union men can work all day, or finish out the week." The delegate said, "No; they must stop at noon. There is a crowd of men waiting to come here at noon." My uncle said, "Well, call them up by telephone." The delegate said, "If any one of these men does not satisfy you, don't think you have to keep him. How long has that man on the wainscoting over there been working for you?" "He has worked for me about two years." The delegate said, "He could not work for me two minutes. The man I send down to you this afternoon to do this wainscoting, if he does not do twice as much as that man, you will not need to pay him at all. We would pay to have him out of the union."

The men came, and my uncle said that the man who worked on the wainscoting did a good deal more that afternoon than the other man had done in a day. The non-union men were paid $2.25, and the union men got $3.25, so there was only a dollar's difference, but much more than that in the amount of work. He said he made $800 more on that job than he had figured on making—that much more than he would have made if the delegate had allowed him to go on with non-union carpenters.

In the carpenters' organization, if you go around on the buildings, you notice there are very few gray-haired men at work. That is where the strain and rush are. If you go to the shops, you will find that the majority are gray-haired men. In Brooklyn, where the scale is $3.60 a day, and will be $4 the first of May, they allow men in the job shops who have a privilege card in the union to work there for $18 a week. It is steady work. In the job shops there is some place for the older man to go. He is not absolutely driven out of town.

How does it happen that the general public has the idea that union men are time-killers, and longs for a return to the old days of the non-union men?

The reason is that the householder and the professional man simply deal with the men sent out from the job shops. They have these men in their employ from the job shops who are not speedy, who could not hold up their end in new work, and there is no particular incentive for them to work fast when they go out to do job work. Then there is their employer's point of view. If I have a lot of orders in, and I am sending a man out to a job, I say, "Hurry up; I have a lot of things to do." But if work is slack, the man knows it, and works accordingly. If work is slack and he were to rush a job, his employer might say, "That fellow is a know-nothing." The employer charges for his services so much a day. That same man, if he were put out on contract, would hustle, because his employer would want him to hustle.

What about the limitation of apprentices?

We limit apprentices so as not to have too great a surplus of labor on the market. I think that in our craft particularly we are quite liberal with the apprentices. We allow an apprentice to one journeyman. If there are three journeymen, we allow two apprentices and one helper. For five journeymen we allow three apprentices, and after that one apprentice to every three journeymen. If we did not limit the apprentices in the big offices, they would hire boys to do the bulk of the work, leaving the expert work to a few of the older men. The result would be that most of the men would be thrown out. The end would be that there would be so many stereotypers that wages would have to go down. Professional men have a natural protection against overcrowding in that it costs so much money to learn a profession that few men can afford it. The law, too, requires a doctor's or lawyer's apprentice to study several years during which he earns nothing. Apprentices in our business in the first year get six dollars a week. We seek to do artificially what is accomplished naturally, and through law, in the professions.

In a union office who determines what men may be discharged?

In each office there is a chairman who represents the union, and a foreman who represents the management. The fore-

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man can discharge any man in the office for any cause whatever except the chairman. The union protects the chairman. He cannot discharge the chairman except for cause. The cause would be either inefficiency or drunkenness or something of that kind. He could discharge every other man without question. We have to make the chairman not afraid of the foreman, so that he knows if he does his work the foreman cannot discharge him. The foreman might abuse the apprentices or put in more than he ought, and everybody would be afraid to object.

Does not the union foment friction?

A union employer has less friction with his men than a non-union employer. There is more harmony and more discipline. In a union office, if a man comes in over five minutes late, the foreman tells his sub to go to work. The man can go home. All that falls on the union, not on the employer. The employer knows the men will come on time and be sober. If a man was intoxicated, the chairman of the chapel would have to report that the man had showed up unfit for work. The man could not be fined less than ten dollars, but he could be fined as much more as was thought proper. That is a protection to the employer. There is hardly a meeting in which fines are not levied. If the chairman should fail to report such cases, he would be fined. That keeps the chairman fair, otherwise he might hound some fellows and favor others. The union pays damages if botchwork is done by drunken union men. For example, the stereotypers employed on one of the Hebrew papers on the East Side got the worse for liquor. They spoiled some work, and delayed getting out the paper, and broke the machinery. They got the place in a thoroughly demoralized condition. The manager called up our office on the 'phone, and our president visited the place and told him the first thing he would have to do would be to discharge the two men, and we would furnish him with two good, competent men. The two men put everything in perfect order in three days. The employer was asked to send his bill for the amount of the damage to the organization. The union paid the bill, and the two men who had held the position were fined the amount of the bill. They paid it in installments. We never ask a man to do the impossible.

Afterwards a combination of the East Side papers was attempted to be formed to shut out the union, and this man, who was the largest employer on the East Side, refused to go in. He said he had been treated so fairly by the stereotypers that he was not going to join in any proposition that would injure them.

Does not such discipline cause friction within the union?

In every organization there are two factors—the radicals and the conservatives. The radicals are seeking to use the organization to increase wages; the conservative men always say, before we do anything, Is it just, and will the condition of the trade warrant it? Before an increase of pay is demanded, a vote of the organization is taken, and the subject is thoroughly threshed out as to whether the trade conditions in the city and country warrant it. We watch trade conditions throughout the country.

Twice a month there is a meeting. Everything concerning trade matters comes up, and the meeting acts as an education. It increases the intelligence of those who come. I know men in the organization who could hardly write their names when they joined, but work in the union started them on the road to self-education.

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The Question of a Maximum Wage

Not long ago The Outlook sent to a number of representative labor leaders and officers of labor organizations the following questions: (1) Do trades-unions fix a maximum wage, so that more than average merit cannot earn more than average wages? and (2) Do they fix a maximum output, so that a wage-earner of more than average ability is not permitted to produce more than the product of the average worker? We print below the answers received, and in our editorial columns we comment on the bearing of the facts thus ascertained upon the labor question.—THE EDITORS.

I.

FROM JOHN MITCHELL

President of the United Mine Workers of America

The United Mine Workers of America does not fix a maximum rate. It does fix a minimum scale. If a workman develops an unusual degree of skill, the employer is at perfect liberty to pay him or any other workman a higher rate than the rate fixed in our agreements with such employer. What we seek to do is to fix a reasonably fair rate of wages for all men who work in the mining industry, so as to give them a wage that will enable them to live in a manner conformable to American standards, and put something away for old age or infirmity.

In the mining industry fully seventy per cent. of the workers are employed on piece-work, and their earnings are of course regulated wholly by the amount of work they do, excepting that we fix a certain price per ton in our agreements with the operators, and the workman who performs the most labor makes the highest wages. We do not place any restrictions upon the amount of labor that shall be performed.

II.

FROM HENRY WHITE

General Secretary of the United Garment Workers of America

(1) Trade-unions do aim to establish a minimum wage, which does not, however, prevent those having more than the average ability from getting an increased wage.

(2) The maximum output is usually enforced for the purpose of preventing rush work.

I desire to say, in addition, that the effect of such rules is to eliminate the least competent workman. If the employer is given the option of choosing his men, he will naturally select the more competent, and the others will, in time, leave the trade for other occupations more suited to their abilities. Such is the case in the cutting trade in this city, which accounts for the efficiency of the New York cutters in comparison with those of other cities.

III.

FROM JAMES M. LYNCH

President of the International Typographical Union

The subordinate unions of the International Typographical Union fix a minimum wage, and not a maximum wage. The minimum wage is believed to be in accordance with the earning powers of the average printer, and there is nothing to prevent a firm or employer from recognizing more than average merit if it or he desires to do so.

The International Typographical Union does not fix a minimum or maximum output. Our members working by the piece and on time, both at hand and machine work, are expected to perform a fair day's work for a fair day's pay.

The International Typographical Union has been in existence for more than fifty years, having been organized in May, 1852, and the above has been its policy during all that time.

IV.

FROM JAMES DUNCAN

National Secretary of the Granite Cutters' National Union

The Granite Cutters' National Union does not fix a maximum wage. What it does is to fix a minimum wage for those employed under what is called the day-work system. Thus, in as far as day work is concerned, wages are graded upwards, and men of more than ordinary ability can receive the full value of their services, by mutual agreement with the employer. Those who are employed by the piece, in that they receive so much

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per foot instead of so much per diem, also receive the full value of their labor, in accordance with the scale prepared; so the whole tendency of our National Union, which has a first-class system of agreements with employers, is and has been to fix a minimum, and grade upwards according to ability, instead of fixing a maximum, which we would consider retrogression of the most objectionable kind.

To your second question, I answer that the reply to your first question suggests what may be said to the second. There is no maximum output contemplated by our laws or any of our agreements, for inasmuch as our wage rate is established upon a minimum, the more a man produces the better chance there is for his increased day-wage rate, and if he is employed by the piece, his increased output would give him in comparison increased compensation.

V.

FROM JAMES O'CONNELL

International President of the International Association of Machinists

(1) Organizations do not fix a maximum wage. On the contrary, a minimum wage is established which places the mechanic with the greatest skill or merit in a position to advance himself to the highest wages paid in his trade or calling.

(2) The maximum wage is not set by any trades organization, in so far as I am acquainted. The organization that I represent requires its members to perform a fair day's work for a fair day's pay, and we recognize that one man is capable of producing more than another, because we are not all mentally or physically constructed alike.

I quote from the Constitution, Art. I., Sec. 4:

> Each lodge (or lodges) shall establish a minimum scale of wages in its locality, and no machinist who is a member of the organization shall work under that scale in that locality; nor shall an applicant for membership be considered eligible unless he receives the minimum scale of wages in his locality.

VI.

FROM E. E. CLARK

Grand Chief Conductor of the Order of Railway Conductors of America

I consider the subject of your questions a very important one. It does not, however, apply to the class of employment in which the members of our Order are engaged as it would in the industrial trades or in manufacturing lines.

The general basis of pay for our members is a certain rate per mile run or trip made. This full amount is paid, no matter how quickly the trip or run may be made, but if they are delayed beyond a certain maximum time, they are paid for the additional hours required of them; as, for instance, if a division of a road is 100 miles in length, a freight conductor would receive, say, $3 per trip over the district, and if on any trip he is required to work longer than ten hours, he is paid additional at the rate of ten miles per hour for the extra hours. On some roads the rate per mile or per trip is different for different classes of trains, dependent upon the nature of the work which the trains are required to do.

The only limit we put upon the amount of work a man shall perform or the amount of his earnings is the proviso which obtains in all of our working agreements, that after a man has been continuously on duty, say, sixteen hours, he shall be entitled to eight hours' rest before being required to again start on a trip, it being understood that this rest is to be taken at a terminal, and that the rule does not permit the men to abandon their work between terminals.

Our general rule for promotion of men is, that if merit, ability, and qualifications are equal, the man longest in the service will have preference for promotion and the more desirable runs, but we make no rule which contemplates the promotion of incompetent or indifferent men.

We aim to gather into membership the thoroughly competent and reliable train conductors. We aim to protect them against injustice, and to secure the highest rates of pay, the shortest hours of labor, and the most favorable conditions of employment which can be secured within the limits of justice, right, and reason.

I have heard the claim made that some trades-unions did fix a maximum wage and a maximum output for their members. Personally, I think such action is a mistake. I think that we should make every effort to secure for all industrious men a

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living minimum wage, but that, having established the minimum wage, we should not restrict the ability or the disposition of a man of more than average ability or willingness to earn more by producing more.

THE FOREST[1]

BY STEWART EDWARD WHITE

Author of "The Blazed Trail," "Conjuror's House," etc.

Chapter III.—The Jumping-off Place

SOMETIME, no matter how long your journey, you will reach a spot whose psychological effect is so exactly like a dozen others that you will recognize at once its kinship with former experience. Mere physical likeness does not count at all. It may possess a water-front of laths and sawdust, or an outlook over broad, shimmering, heat-baked plains. It may front the impassive fringe of a forest, or it may skirt the calm stretch of a river. But whether of log or mud, stone or unpainted board, its identity becomes at first sight indubitably evident. Were you, by the wave of some beneficent wand, to be transported direct to it from the heart of the city, you could not fail to recognize it. "The jumping-off place!" you would cry ecstatically, and turn with unerring instinct to the Aromatic Shop.

For here is where begins the Long Trail. Whether it will lead you through the forests, or up the hills, or over the plains, or by the invisible water paths; whether you will accomplish it on horseback, or in canoe, or by the transportation of your own two legs; whether your companions shall be white or red, or merely the voices of the wilds—these things matter not a particle. In the symbol of this little town you loose your hold on the world of made things, and shift for yourself among the unchanging conditions of nature.

Here the faint forest flavor, the subtle invisible breath of freedom, stirs faintly across men's conventions. The ordinary affairs of life savor this tang—a trace of wildness in the domesticated berry. In the dress of the inhabitants is a dash of color, a carelessness of port; in the manner of their greeting is the clear steady-eyed taciturnity of the silent places; through the web of their gray talk of ways and means and men's simpler beliefs runs a thread of color. One hears strange, suggestive words and phrases—arapajo, capote, arroyo, the diamond hitch, cache, butte, coulé, muskegs, portage, and a dozen others coined into the tender of daily use. And occasionally, when the expectation is least alert, one encounters suddenly the very symbol of the wilderness itself—a dust-whitened cowboy, an Indian packer with his straight fillet-confined hair, a *voyageur* gay in red sash and ornamented moccasins, one of the Company's canoemen, hollow-cheeked from the river—no costumed show exhibit, but fitting naturally into the scene, bringing something of the open space with him—so that in your imagination the little town gradually takes on the color of mystery which an older community utterly lacks.

But perhaps the strongest of the influences which unite to assure the psychological kinships of the jumping-off places is that of the Aromatic Shop. It is usually a board affair, with a broad high sidewalk shaded by a wooden awning. You enter through a narrow door, and find yourself facing two dusky aisles separated by a narrow division of goods, and flanked by two wooden counters. So far it is exactly like the corner store of our usual districts. But in the dimness of those two aisles lurks the spirit of the wilds. There in a row hang fifty pairs of smoke-tanned moccasins; in another an equal number of oil-tanned; across the background you can make out snowshoes. The shelves are high with blankets—three-point, four-point—thick and warm for the out-of-doors. Should you care to examine, the storekeeper will hook down from aloft capotes of different degrees of fineness.

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Fathoms of black tobacco-rope lie coiled in tubs. Tump lines welter in a tangle of dimness. On a series of little shelves is the ammunition, fascinating in the attraction of mere numbers—44 Winchester, 45 Colt, 40–82, 30–40, 44 S. & W.—they all connote something to the accustomed mind, just as do the numbered street names of New York.

And exploration is always bringing something new to light among the commonplaces of ginghams and working shirts and canned goods and stationery and the other thousands of civilized drearinesses to be found in every country store. From under the counter you drag out a mink skin or so; from the dark corner an assortment of steel traps; in a loft a birch-bark mokok, fifty pounds heavy with granulated maple sugar, dispenses a faint perfume.

For this is above all the Aromatic Shop. A hundred ghosts of odors mingle to produce the spirit of it. The reek of camp-fires is in its buckskin, of the open woods in its birch bark, of the muskegs in its sweet grass, of the open spaces in its peltries, of the evening meal in its coffees and bacons, of the portage trail in the leather of its tump-lines. I am speaking now of the country of which we are to write. The shops of the other jumping-off places are equally aromatic—whether with the leather of saddles, the freshness of ash paddles, or the pungency of marline; and once the smell of them is in your nostrils you cannot but away.

The Aromatic Shop is always kept by the wisest, the most accommodating, the most charming shopkeeper in the world. He has all leisure to give you, and enters into the innermost spirit of your buying. He is of supernal sagacity in regard to supplies and outfits, and if he does not know all about routes, at least he is acquainted with the very man who can tell you everything you want to know. He leans both elbows on the counter, while you swing your feet, and together you go over the list, while the Indian stands smoky and silent in the background. "Now, if I was you," says he, "I'd take just a little more pork. You won't be eatin' so much yourself, but these Injuns ain't got no bottom when it comes to sow-belly. And I wouldn't buy all that coffee. You ain't goin' to want much after the first edge is worn off. Tea's the boy." The Indian shoots a few rapid words across the discussion. "He says you'll want some iron shoes to fit on canoe poles for when you come back up stream," interprets your friend. "I guess that's right. I ain't got none, but th' blacksmith'll fit you out all right. You'll find him jest below—never mind, don't you bother, I'll see to all that for you."

The next morning he saunters into view at the river-bank. "Thought I'd see you off," he replies to your expression of surprise at his early rising. "Take care of yourself." And so the last hand-clasp of civilization is extended to you from the little Aromatic Shop.

Occasionally, however, though very rarely, you step to the Long Trail from the streets of a modern raw town. The chance presence of some local industry demanding a large population of workmen, combined with first-class railroad transportation, may plant an electric-lighted, saloon-lined, brick-hoteled city in the middle of the wilderness. Lumber, mines—especially of the baser metals or commercial minerals—fisheries, a terminus of water freightage, may one or all call into existence a community a hundred years in advance of its environment. Then you lose the savor of the jump-off. Nothing can quite take the place of the instant plunge into the wilderness, for you must travel three or four days from such a place before you sense the forest in its vastness, even though deer may eat the cabbages at the edge of town. Occasionally, however, by force of crude contrast to the brick-heated atmosphere, the breath of the woods reaches your cheek, and always you own a very tender feeling for the cause of it.

Dick and myself were caught in such a place. It was an unfinished little town, with brick-fronted stores, arc-lights swaying over fathomless mud, big superintendent's and mill-owner's houses of bastard architecture in a blatant superiority of hill location, a hotel whose office chairs supported a variety of cheap drummers, and stores screeching in an attempt at metropolitan smartness. We inspected the stand-pipe and the docks, walked a careless mile of board walk, kicked a dozen pugnacious dogs from our setter, Deuce, and found ourselves at the end of

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our resources. As a crowd seemed to be gathering about the wooden railway station, we joined it in sheer idleness.

It seemed that an election had taken place the day before, that one Smith had been chosen to the Assembly, and that, though this district had gone anti-Smith, the candidate was expected to stop off an hour on his way to a more westerly point. Consequently the town was on hand to receive him.

The crowd, we soon discovered, was bourgeois in the extreme. Young men from the mill escorted young women from the shops. The young men wore flaring collars three sizes too large; the young women, white cotton mitts three sizes too small. The older men spat, and talked through their noses; the women drawled out a monotonous flow of speech concerning the annoyances of domestic life. A gang of uncouth practical jokers, exploding in horse laughter, skylarked about, jostling rudely. A village band, uniformed solely with cheap carriage-cloth caps, brayed excruciatingly. The reception committee had decorated with red and white silesia streamers and rosettes an ordinary side-bar buggy, to which a long rope had been attached, that the great man might be dragged by his fellow-citizens to the public square.

Nobody seemed to be taking the affair too seriously. It was evidently more than half a joke. Anti-Smith was more good-humoredly in evidence than the winning party. Just this touch of buffoonery completed our sense of the farce-comedy character of the situation. The town was tawdry in its preparations—and knew it; but half sincere in its enthusiasm—and knew it. If the crowd had been composed of Americans, we should have anticipated an unhappy time for Smith; but good, loyal Canadians, by the limitations of temperament, could get no further than a spirit of manifest irreverence.

In the shifting of the groups Dick and I became separated, but shortly I made him out worming his way excitedly toward me, his sketch-book open in his hand.

"Come here," he whispered. "There's going to be fun. They're going to open up on old Smith after all."

I followed. The decorated side-bar buggy might be well meant; the village band need not have been interpreted as an ironical compliment; the rest of the celebration might indicate paucity of resource rather than facetious intent; but surely the figure of fun before us could not be otherwise construed than as a deliberate advertising in the face of success of the town's real attitude toward the celebration.

The man was short. He wore a felt hat, so big that it rested on his ears. A gray wool shirt hung below his neck. A cutaway coat miles too large depended below his knees and to the first joints of his fingers. By way of official uniform his legs were incased in an ordinary rough pair of miller's white trousers, on which broad stripes of red flannel had been roughly sewn. Everything was wrinkled in the folds of too-bigness. As though to accentuate the note, the man stood very erect, very military, and supported in both hands the staff of an English flag. This figure of fun, this man made from the slop-chest, this caricature of a scarecrow, had been put forth by heavy-handed facetiousness to the post of greatest honor. He was Standard-Bearer to the occasion! Surely subtle irony could go no further.

Some sudden movement caused the man to turn. One sleeve of the faded, ridiculous old cutaway was empty. He turned again. From under the ear-flanging hat looked unflinching the clear, steady blue eye of the woodsman. And so we knew. This old soldier had come in from the Long Trail to bear again the flag of his country. If his clothes were old and ill-fitting, at least they were his best, and the largeness of the empty sleeve belittled the too-largeness of the other. In all this ribald, laughing, irreverent, commonplace, semi-vicious crowd he was the one note of sincerity. To him this was a real occasion, and the exalted reverence in his eye for the task he was so simply performing was Smith's real triumph—if he could have seen it. We knew now, we felt the imminence of the Long Trail. For the first time the little brick tawdry town gripped our hearts with the well-known thrill of the jumping-off place. Suddenly the great, simple, unashamed wilderness drew near us as with the rush of wings.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Sir Michael Hicks-Beach[1]

By Justin McCarthy

Author of "A History of Our Own Times," "The Story of Gladstone's Life," etc.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH is now, as everybody knows, out of office. *Il reviendra*, no doubt, and in a happier sense, we may trust, than fate allowed to the once-famous personage concerning whom the words I have quoted were said and sung throughout France. *Il reviendra* was the burden of the chant composed to the honor of the late General Boulanger and echoed through all the French music-halls at the time when Boulanger got into trouble with the existing government. But Sir Michael Hicks-Beach is a man of very different order from Boulanger, with whom he has, so far as I know, nothing whatever in common except the fact that they were both born in the same year, 1837.

The admirers of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach may take it for granted that he will some time or other return to a high position in an English administration. Whether that administration is to be Liberal or Conservative we must wait for events to show. One can imagine the formation of a Conservative Government which might rise to the level of Hicks-Beach; or one might imagine the formation of a Liberal Government in which Hicks-Beach could see his way to take office; but I think it would be hard to realize the idea of such a man being left out of office or kept out of office for many years. He was, according to my judgment, the most efficient and capable member of the Conservative Government now in office, the Government from which he felt himself compelled to withdraw, or in which, at all events, he was not pressed to continue. He was not a brilliant figure in that Government. He had not the push and the energy and the impressive debating powers of Mr. Chamberlain, and he had not the culture, the grace, and the literary style of Mr. Arthur Balfour. He made no pretensions whatever to the gift of oratory, although he had some at least of the qualities which are needed for oratorical success. His style of speaking is remarkably clear and impressive. No question, however complex and difficult, seems hard to understand when explained by Hicks-Beach. He compels attention rather than attracts it. There are no alluring qualities in his eloquence, there are no graces of manner or exquisite forms of expression; there is a cold, almost harsh clearness enforcing itself in every speech. The speaker seems to be telling his hearers that, whether they agree with him or not, whether they like him or not, they must listen to what he has to say. There is a certain quality of antagonism in his manner from first to last, and he conveys the idea of one who feels a grim satisfaction in the work of hammering his opinions into the heads of men who would rather be thinking of something else if the choice were left to them. "Black Michael" is the nickname familiarly applied to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach in private conversation by the members of the House of Commons, and the nickname has found its way into the columns of "Punch" and other periodicals. The term "Black Michael" does not, we may assume, refer merely to the complexion of Hicks-Beach, to the color of his hair; but means to suggest a grim darksomeness about his whole expression of countenance and bearing. Certainly any one who watches Sir Michael Hicks-Beach as he sits during a debate in the House of Commons, waiting for his turn to reply to the attacks on some measure of which he is a supporter, will easily understand the significance of the appellation. Hicks-Beach follows every sentence of the speaker then addressing the House with a stern and ironical gaze of intensity which seems already to foredoom the unlucky orator to a merciless castigation. I must say that if I were a member of the House of Commons devoted to the championship of some not quite orthodox financial theory, I should not like to know that my exposi-

[1] Subjects already treated in this series have been: Mr. Balfour, Lord Salisbury, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Henry Labouchere, Lord Aberdeen, Sir William Harcourt, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, John E. Redmond, and John Burns.

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tion of the doctrine was to be publicly analyzed by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.

Yet Hicks-Beach is not by any means an ungenial man, according to my observation. Some of his colleagues say that he has a bad temper, or at least a quick temper; and I must say that I can easily understand how a man of vigorous intelligence and expansive views might occasionally be brought into a mood of unphilosophic acrimony by the goings-on of the present Conservative administration. During my many years of service in the House of Commons I had opportunities of coming into personal intercourse with Hicks-Beach, and I have always found him easy of approach and genial in his manners. At different times while he was holding office I had to make representations to him privately with regard to some difficulty arising between an administrative department and certain localities which felt themselves oppressed, or at least put at a disadvantage, by the working of new regulations. I always found Sir Michael Hicks-Beach ready to give a full and fair consideration to every complaint and to exercise his authority for the removal of any genuine grievance. But I can easily understand that observers who have not had personal dealings with Hicks-Beach and have only observed him as he sits silent, dark, and grim during some debate in the House of Commons, may well have formed some very decided impressions as to his habitual moods and tempers. A member of the House once asked me whether I was aware of the fact that a certain line in one of Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome" was supposed to contain a prophetic description of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. I gave up the puzzle, and then my friend told me that the description was contained in the lines describing the Roman trumpet-call which tell that

"The kite knows well the long stern swell."

I hope my American readers will not have quite forgotten the meaning of the term "swell," now somewhat falling into disuse, but at one time very commonly employed in England to describe a member of what would now be called "smart society."

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach has held many offices. He has been Under-Secretary for the Home Department, and Secretary to the Poor Law Board; he has been twice Chief Secretary for Ireland, or, to speak more strictly, Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and he has been twice Chancellor of the Exchequer. I need hardly say that he was not able to accomplish much during the periods of his Irish administration. I have said in preceding articles that it is not possible for the Chief Secretary of a Conservative Government to accomplish anything worth attempting in the work of Irish administration. What Ireland demands is the right to manage her own national affairs in her own domestic Parliament, and there is nothing worth doing to be done by any government which will not take serious account of her one predominant claim. No patronage of local charities, local flower-shows, and local racecourses, no amount of Dublin Castle hospitalities, no Viceregal visits to public schools and municipal institutions, can bring about any real improvement in the relations between Great Britain and Ireland. I have no doubt that Hicks-Beach did all in his power to see that the business of his department was efficiently and honestly conducted in Dublin Castle, but under the conditions imposed upon him by Conservative principles it was impossible for him to accomplish any success in the administration of Irish affairs. It has often come into my mind that a certain sense of his limitations in this way was sometimes apparent in the bearing and manner of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, when he had to take any prominent part in the business of Dublin Castle. He has an active mind and a ready faculty of initiative, and there was no place for such a man in the sort of administrative work which mainly consists in the endeavor to keep things going as they have been going, and striving after an impossible compromise between despotic principles and a free constitutional system.

Hicks-Beach, of course, was more in his place when at the head of the financial department of the administration. He is admitted to have been one of the most skillful and enlightened among modern Chancellors of the Exchequer. His financial statements were always thoroughly clear, symmetrical, and interesting from first to last. He never got into any en-

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tanglement with his figures, and his array of facts was always marshaled with something like dramatic skill. I do not profess to be very strong upon financial questions, but I could always understand and follow with the deepest interest any financial exposition made by Hicks-Beach. He seemed to me to be distinctly above the level of his party and his official colleagues on all such questions, and it has often occurred to me that such a man was rather thrown away upon a Conservative Government. Whatever else might be said against them, it could not be said that his speeches at any time sank to the level of the commonplace. There was something combative in his nature, and his style of speaking, with its clear, strong, and sometimes almost harsh tones, appeared as if it were designed in advance to confront and put down all opposition. The House of Commons had for a long time got into the way of regarding Hicks-Beach as a man in advance of his colleagues on all subjects of financial administration. Every Tory in office, or likely to be in office, now professes himself a free-trader in the English sense of the phrase, but Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was evidently a genuine free-trader, and never could have been anything else since he first turned his attention seriously and steadily to financial questions. I should describe him as one of the foremost debaters in the House of Commons among the men who made no pretensions to the higher order of eloquence; and probably an additional attraction was given to his speeches by that aggressive and combative tone which I have just noticed. I have sometimes fancied that his combativeness of manner and his dictatorial style were less intended for the discomfiture of his recognized political opponents than for that of his own colleagues in office. Long before there was any rumor of incompatibility between Hicks-Beach and the members of the present Government, I have often found myself wondering how the man who expressed such enlightened ideas on so many financial and political questions could possibly get on with a somewhat reactionary Conservative administration. Of course I have no means of knowing anything beyond that which is known to the general public concerning the causes which led to Hicks-Beach's withdrawal or exclusion from his place in the present Government. Even those London journals which profess to know everything about the inner counsels of the Cabinet did not, and do not, tell us anything more on this particular subject than the news, impossible to be concealed, that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach had ceased to be a member of the Conservative administration. We were all left to make any conjectures we pleased as to the cause of this remarkable change, and I feel, therefore, no particular diffidence in expounding my own theory. During the long debates on Hicks-Beach's latest Budget proposals, which I had to follow only through the medium of the newspaper reports, I became possessed with the idea that Hicks-Beach was performing reluctantly an uncongenial and almost intolerable task.

Let me recall to the minds of my readers some of the conditions amid which Hicks-Beach found himself compelled of late to carry on his work. It should be said, in the first instance, that he never showed himself, and, as I believe, never could have been, a genuine Tory of the old school. He never exhibited himself as an uncompromising partisan on any of the great subjects which arouse political antagonism. He must have had very little sympathy indeed with the dogmas and the watchwords and the war-cries of old-fashioned militant Toryism. He never identified himself with the cause of the Orangemen in Ireland or the principles of the Jingoes in England. He seldom addressed the House of Commons on any subjects but those which belonged to his own department, and these were for the most part questions of finance. When, however, he had occasionally to take part in debates on subjects connected with England's foreign policy, he generally spoke with an enlightenment, a moderation, and a conciliatory tone which would have done credit to any statesman and seemed little in keeping with the policy and the temper of modern Toryism. But Hicks-Beach had fallen upon evil days for a man of his foresight, his intellect, and his temperament generally who had found a place in a Conservative Cabinet. The policy which led to the outbreak of the war in South Africa aroused a passion in the English public mind which found

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its utmost fury among the partisans of Toryism. Tory and Jingo became for the time synonymous terms. The man who did not allow his heart and soul to be filled with the war spirit must have seemed to most of his friends unworthy to be called a Conservative. Even among certain sections of the Liberals it required much courage for any man to condemn or even to criticise with severity the policy which had led to the war. Any one who ventured on such a course, whether he were Liberal or Conservative, was straightway branded with the opprobrious epithet of pro-Boer, and that title was supposed to carry his complete condemnation. England had come back suddenly to the same kind of passionate temper which prevailed during the earlier part of the Crimean War. "He who is not with us is against us," cried the professing patriots at both times—he who does not glorify the war is a traitor to his own country and a pro-Boer, or a pro-Russian, as the case might be. This was the temper with which Hicks-Beach found that he had to deal during the later years of his financial administration.

It would be out of place to enter into any speculation as to what Hicks-Beach's own views may have been with regard to the whole policy of the war. It is now well known that Queen Victoria was entirely opposed to that policy, although she did not feel that her position as a constitutional sovereign gave her authority to overrule it by a decision of her own. There is very good reason to believe that peace was brought about at last by the resolute exercise of King Edward's influence. It is at least not unlikely that a man of Hicks-Beach's intellect and temperament may have been opposed at first to the policy which brought on the war, but may have, nevertheless, believed that his most patriotic course would be to remain in the Government and do the best he could for the public benefit. He soon found himself compelled to perform as disagreeable a task as an enlightened financial statesman could have to undertake—the task of extracting from the already overburdened taxpayers the means of carrying on a war of conquest with which he had little sympathy. It was perfectly evident that the needed revenue could not be extracted from the country without some violation of those financial principles to which Hicks-Beach had long been attached. There was no time for much meditation—the money had to be found somehow—and a great part of it could only be found by the imposition of a duty on foreign imports. We now know from public statements made by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach himself that while the war was going on he became impressed with the conviction that the whole administration of the military department was grossly mismanaged, and that the money of the nation was thrown away when the War Office came to spend it. The conviction thus forced upon him could not have tended to make the task of providing means for such further expenditure any the more agreeable to him. We may assume that he saw no other course before him than to make the best of a bad job and try to find in the least objectionable way the amount of money necessary to carry on the business of the State. It was evident to him that the principles of free trade must be put aside for the present, and he found himself driven to the odious necessity of imposing a duty on the importation of foreign corn, a duty which in fact amounted to a tax on bread. Hicks-Beach well knew that no tax could be more odious to the poorer classes of the British islands; but we may presume that in his emergency he could see no other way of raising the money, and he accepted the situation with a dogged resolve which made no pretense at any concealment of his personal dislike for the task. His manner of delivering the speech in which he set forth his scheme of finance was that of a man who has to discharge an odious duty, or what he finds himself by the force of circumstances compelled to regard as a duty, but will utter no word which might seem to make out that he has any excuse other than that of hateful necessity. The substance of Hicks-Beach's explanations on this part of his Budget might be summed up in such words as these: "We have got to pay for this war, and we have no time to spare in finding the money; we must cast aside for the time the principles of free trade; but do not let us further degrade ourselves by hypocritical attempts to make out that what we are doing is in accordance with the free-

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trade doctrine." I remember well that on reading Hicks-Beach's Budget speech I became deeply impressed with the conviction that his task was becoming so intolerable to him that we might expect before long to see a change in the composition of the Government. But it appeared to me that, as the debate went on and the days went on, the position of Hicks-Beach was becoming more and more difficult. Some of the members of the Cabinet became to all appearance suddenly possessed with an inspiration that the time had arrived for a bold movement of reaction against the long-accepted doctrines of free trade. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had already receded so far from the established policy as to propose the imposition of a tax on the imported materials for making bread; and why, therefore, should we not take advantage—thus at least I construed their ideas—of this tempting opportunity to introduce a system of preferential duties and an imitation Zollverein for England and some of her colonies, and to break away from the creed and dogmas of men like Gladstone, Cobden, and Bright? These proposals must have opened to the eyes of Hicks-Beach a vista of financial heresies into which he could not possibly enter. He probably thought that he had gone far enough in the way of compromise when he consented to meet immediate emergencies by the imposition of a bread-tax. Is it possible that he may have felt some compunctious feeling because of his having yielded so far to the necessities of the moment? However that may be, I take it for granted, and took it for granted at the time, that Hicks-Beach found the incompatibility between his own views as to the raising of revenue and the views beginning to be developed by some of his colleagues becoming more and more difficult to reconcile.

Let me venture on an illustration, although it be not by any means photographic in its accuracy, of the difficulty with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer found himself confronted. Let us suppose Hicks-Beach to be the leader of a pledged society of total abstainers. At a moment of sudden crisis he feels called upon to relax so far the rigidity of the society's governing principle as to allow one of its members who is threatened with utter physical prostration a few drops of alcoholic stimulant. He finds his course cordially approved by some of his most influential colleagues, and at first he is proud of their support. But it presently turns out that they regard his reluctant concession as the opening up of a new practice in their regulations, and they press upon him all manner of propositions for the toleration and even the encouragement of what my friend Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the great English champion of total abstinence, would term "moderate drunkenness." Fancy what the feelings of Sir Wilfrid Lawson would be if by some temporary and apparently needful concession he found himself regarded by those around him as an advocate of moderate drunkenness! Such, I cannot help thinking, must have been, in its different way, the condition to which Sir Michael Hicks-Beach felt himself brought down, when he discovered that his introduction of an import duty on foreign grain was believed by his principal colleagues to be but the opening of a reactionary movement against the whole policy of free trade.

The Government of Lord Salisbury seemed to be in the highest good spirits at the prospects before it. Mr. Chamberlain in especial seemed to believe that the time had come for him to develop an entirely new system of his own for the adjustment of import and export duties. For many weeks the English newspapers were filled with discussions on Mr. Chamberlain's great project for the new British Imperial Zollverein, of which England was to be the head. Numbers of Mr. Chamberlain's Conservative admirers were filled with a fresh enthusiasm for the man who thus proposed to reverse altogether the decisions of all modern political economy laid down by Liberal statesmen and Radical writers. Stout old Tory gentlemen representing county constituencies began to be full of hope that the good old times were coming back.

That was the crisis—so far at least as the official career of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was concerned for the time. What may have happened in the private councils of the Government we of the outer world were not and are not permitted to know. All that we actually do know is

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that Lord Salisbury resigned his place as Prime Minister, that Arthur Balfour was called to succeed him in office, and that a new administration was formed in which the name of Hicks-Beach did not appear. There were other changes also made in the administration, but with these I shall not for the present concern myself. The important fact for this article is that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was no longer Chancellor of the Exchequer. All manner of conjectures were made as to the reasons why Lord Salisbury so suddenly withdrew from the position of Prime Minister, and why he could not be prevailed upon to hold the place even nominally until after King Edward's coronation. I do not suppose that the resignation of Lord Salisbury had anything to do with the fact that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach ceased to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. The vacancies were not made simultaneously, nor did there appear any reason to believe that Hicks-Beach was so closely identified with the political fortunes of Lord Salisbury as to be unable to remain in office when his leader had ceased to hold the place of command. So far as an outsider can judge, it must have been that Hicks-Beach could not get on with the new administration, or that the new administration could not get on with him. My own theory, and I only offer it to my readers as the theory of a mere observer from the outside, is that Hicks-Beach could not stand any more of the reaction towards protection principles—thought he had gone quite as far as any sense of duty to his party could exact from him, and made up his mind that if his colleagues were anxious to go any further in what he believed to be the wrong direction they must do so without any help or countenance from him.

This theory has taken a firmer hold than ever of my mind since I read the report of a speech lately made by Hicks-Beach weeks and weeks after he had ceased to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. That recent speech might have been made by a member of the Liberal Opposition. Certainly in some of its most important and striking passages it enunciated opinions and laid down doctrines which might have come from almost any of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's colleagues on the front Opposition bench. It denounced extravagant war expenditure at a time when Imperialist politicians are calling out for something very like military conscription, and it insisted that the defense of England by the strength of her navy ought to be the main consideration of English statesmanship. That was a doctrine which used to be proclaimed in distant days by such men as Cobden and Bright, which soon became an accepted principle among all genuine Liberals, but has lately been repudiated by all Imperialists, Liberal or Tory, who seemed to think that the one great business of English statesmanship is to turn England into a military encampment. The natural and reasonable conclusion to be drawn from such a speech is that during the last session or two of Parliament Hicks-Beach found it impossible to put up any longer with the reign of Jingo principles in the Cabinet, and made up his mind to set himself free from such a domination. The Tory Government has lost its ablest financial administrator, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach has regained his position of independence.

The future must tell the story of Hicks-Beach's remaining career. That he has yet an important career before him may be taken for granted if only the fates allow him the ordinary length of man's life. Nothing but absolute retirement from Parliamentary work could reduce such a man to a position of complete neutrality, or could prevent him from having an influence which the leaders of both political parties must take into consideration. He is too strong in debate, too well trained in the business of administration, and too quick in observing the real import of growing political changes, and in distinguishing between them and the mere displays of ephemeral emotion, not to make his influence felt at any great crisis in the conditions of political parties. I hold, therefore, to the hope expressed at the opening of this article, that *il reviendra*—that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach will come back before long to an important place in some administration. The House of Commons could not afford just now to lose the services of such a man, and I take it for granted that Hicks-Beach could not remain long in the House of Commons without being called upon to accept an official position. He is beyond question

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one of the very ablest men on the side of the Government in that House, and his integrity, his moderation, his capacity to understand the significance of new facts, and his disinterestedness have won for him the respect of all parties in Parliament and outside it. We are, to all appearance, on the eve of great changes in the composition of our political parties. With the close of the war has come to an end that season of Jingoism which brought so many weak-minded Liberals into fascinated co-operation with the Tories. The reaction against Toryism must come, and it will probably bring with it a reconstitution of both parties on the principles which each may consider essential to its character at a time when peace at home gives our legislators a chance of studying the domestic welfare of the people in these islands. It will not be enough then for a public man to proclaim himself an Imperialist in order to win the votes of a constituency, or to denounce his rival as a pro-Boer in order to secure defeat for that unlucky personage. The constituencies will begin to ask what each candidate proposes to do for the domestic prosperity of our populations at home, and to demand an explicit answer. Under such conditions, whatever be the reconstitution of parties, I am strongly of opinion that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach will before long begin a new administrative career.

The French Revolution: Two Views[1]

WE of this generation have cause for mingled gratitude and regret that our ancestors were possessed of the desire, and had the leisure, to write in minutest detail of their times. A passing thought might be given to the query as to how much posterity will be able to gather from our personal letters—or telegrams—concerning the daily happenings of our lives. That there is appreciation, from some quarter, ready and waiting for all sorts of old correspondence, journals, and diaries is clear, when one notes the product of the press. Significant or trivial, worthy or foolish, witty or dull, all is translated or edited, and is turned out volume after volume, to satisfy popular demand.

France has given us many of the most delightful records of past days, and one turns with pleasant anticipations to two recent books, "The Guardian of Marie Antoinette" and the "Memoirs of a Contemporary."

The first is published in two fine volumes, and gives the substance of the letters written to the Empress Maria Thérèse by the Comte de Mercy-Argenteau, Austrian Ambassador to the Court of Versailles, 1770–1780, admirably edited by Lillian C. Smythe.

The letters of the devoted Ambassador are well known to French and Austrian students of history, but their presentation to readers in this country will be of interest. For a quarter-century Florimond, Comte de Mercy-Argenteau, kept his hand upon the springs that moved the courts of Europe. To the world, the author says, he was an acute diplomatist; to the Empress of Austria, her private appointed guardian of Marie Antoinette's manners, mind, and morals; to Madame Elizabeth (the young sister of the Dauphin), who spoke her mind quite frankly, always "*le vieux renard.*"

The author shows great skill in her use of the facts at her disposal, weaving them into a lucid and engaging narrative—not an easy task when one remembers that the period described was one of most intricate and perplexing court intrigue. Marvelous to say, the daily letters from the Ambassador to his Empress were regularly despatched for ten years without a suspicion being raised either in the mind of the King, Louis XV., or of the spies in royal pay. One finds, therefore, a remarkable candor in the communications. Upon the marriage of the little Marie Antoinette to the Dauphin, the guardianship began.

Only fourteen, hardly knowing how to write, very childish in appearance, idle and pleasure-loving, as might be expected,

[1] *The Guardian of Marie Antoinette.* Letters from the Comte de Mercy-Argenteau, Austrian Ambassador to the Court of Versailles, to Marie Thérèse, Empress of Austria, 1770–1780. By Lillian C. Smythe. 2 vols. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York.

Memoirs of a Contemporary. Being Reminiscences by Ida Saint-Elme, Adventuress, of her Acquaintance with certain Makers of French History, and of her Opinions concerning them. From 1790 to 1815. Translated by Lionel Strachey. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York.

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the little Princess was a lonely figure in the corrupt Court of France. It is a sad picture. Her only friend was the Comte de Mercy-Argenteau, who, warning, guiding, persuading, first the child Dauphine, then the young Queen, was a powerful factor in her history, and to him was largely due whatever of success came to the unfortunate Queen of France. It is suggested that his guiding hand might perhaps have averted the most terrible of royal shipwrecks, the terror of which he foresaw, but he was called at that very time to the apparently greater danger threatening Austria after the death of Maria Thérèse, and could only warn his beloved Queen from a distance. He died after an exhausting journey to England, whither he went in 1794 with the hope of raising subsidies in London for the punishment of France.

The dainty little figure of the French Queen has always been a center of warm interest. This picture of her daily life, her fascinating manners, her uncompromising truthfulness, her careless gayety, and her willful, foolish extravagances, all unite to deepen the impression. A vivid sketch is given of the four old aunts (of the Dauphin), the Mesdames of France, nicknamed by their unmerciful father "Loque," "Coche," "Graille," and "Chiffe," all ungraceful and even hideous women of *bourgeoises* tastes. These, with the intriguing brothers of the Dauphin and their wives, were to be companions and examples for the little Marie Antoinette. Her wits were soon on the alert, and her careful guardian had a task to restrain her use of them. She made honest efforts to improve the sluggish, almost imbecile, Dauphin, and her biographer gives many scenes disclosing the pathos of her position. She improved daily in appearance and gained in influence. The old King—Louis XV.—increased his attentions and friendliness, but for years her charms produced no effect upon the half-developed Dauphin.

All these facts have passed into history, but a new light is shed upon them in this intimate chronicle, skillfully edited with vivacious comments. Before the death of Louis XV., the Comtesse du Barry tried in vain to win toleration from the future Queen, but to none of her overtures was there a response, and, as is known, upon the succession of Louis XVI. the former royal favorite was retired to privacy. The contrast between the brilliant young Queen and her loutish husband was most painful. Daily they grew more and more opposed in thought, desires, and pursuits. "The Queen, alive in every nerve of her body, every thought of her mind, in vivid health, untiring, brilliant, emotional, to whom the day and night are too short for all her interests, witty, sweet-natured, proud, and sovereign; the King, dull, plodding, ignorant, stolid, half-alive, imperfectly conscious, undeveloped in body and in mind, toiling at his little mechanical duties of kingship, as he does at his forge, with a great desire to do his poor best, so seldom speaking that his disused voice squeaks with the effort, with the loud, meaningless laugh and 'horrid grimaces' and loutish tricks of the imbecile, yet with gentle, docile nature that submits meekly to the inevitable impulses from stronger wills. He lives a life by routine; she, by caprice. He is bent by every force; she resents even the shadow of domination. He took his kingdom with '*Quel fardeau pour moi!*' and she took hers with 'admiration of the arrangements of Providence that has chosen me for the most beautiful kingdom of Europe.'"

With these two young people on the throne France went lightly on to disaster—as the author says in commenting upon public opinion in 1778, when Franklin was being fêted by the Parisians. "The French welcomed with effusion the ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which they hailed as seed from Heaven, and sowed in a soil rank with the weeds of centuries, sour with oppression, and darkened by incredible ignorance; and they blossomed into 'The Terror.'" The tales told of the devotion of the fickle ladies of the court to Franklin are piquant. Madame de Créquy was an exception, and describes Franklin's way of eating eggs thus: He broke five or six eggs into a goblet, put butter, salt, pepper, and mustard upon them, and then "nourished himself with little spoonfuls of this *joli ragoût philadelphique*." He bit his asparagus, and took a knife to his melon. "*Vous voyez que c'etait un vilain sauvage.*"

In 1778 a Princess was born to the King and Queen, and though a Prince

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had been desired, she was no disappointment to her mother, who said, "Poor little thing, you were not wanted, but you will be my very own the more for that; a son would have belonged to the State." Everywhere joy was evident, and devotion to the Queen; but the new ideas of nature, equality, and simplicity were undermining the principles of monarchy. The author asserts that the desire of Marie Antoinette for simplicity of manners was no pose, but was classed as such by those to whom pose was nature.

In 1790, upon the death of Joseph II., the Comte de Mercy-Argenteau was called from the guardianship of Marie Antoinette to save the empire of the successor of Joseph, his brother Leopold, and he left Paris never to return.

Here the narrative ends, in the deep shadow of coming destruction. The letters in the possession of the present Comtesse de Mercy-Argenteau, the author tells us, repeat incessantly the forebodings of the statesman. "The most unceasing efforts, the most unwearying perseverance, cannot make them see with my eyes. . . . The danger presses equally upon all thrones; all will be overthrown if they do not unite to crush the monster rising against them." But his warnings fell unheeded, and his guardianship ended with the execution of Marie Antoinette.

The two volumes are embellished by exquisite portrait prints. One of Marie Antoinette when the Dauphine is especially beautiful. Almost the entire collection is now at the Château d'Argenteau, and was presented by its Imperial and Royal owners to the Comte de Mercy-Argenteau, and has never before been reproduced. The portraits are all of great historical and artistic value.

Leaving the touchingly sad story of the unfortunate Queen—pure in life, though cruelly maligned by her enemies—always a lonely figure, and finally deserted by those whose lives were shamed by hers, we turn to the merry tale of one of the beautiful actors in the drama immediately succeeding that of the wrecked monarchy, the triumphant Republic of France. The few and fleeting scruples that came to the gay writer of the "Memoirs of a Contemporary" are as beautifully expressed and as truly superficial as those that move the emotions of the audience of the usual French play. "Ida St. Elme," self-styled and self-made adventuress, though probably innocent in childhood, became a thorough woman of the world—or the half-world—in her earliest youth. Of mixed Hungarian and Dutch parentage, born in Italy in 1778, and therefore a contemporary of Marie Antoinette, she came into contact with many of the men who were making French history during the period included between 1790 and 1815. The point of view is in interesting contrast to that taken by the French Court. She was married at twelve years of age to a Dutch gentleman who sympathized with the Revolutionary party in France, and for whom she seems to have entertained a high respect, though the attraction of the young French officers into whose company she was carelessly thrown proved too powerful for her vanity and inexperience. Before she was out of her teens she was embarked upon her adventurous career and became a skillful agent in political intrigue. She relates many anecdotes of famous men and women whom she knew. Moreau, Carnot, Beaumarchais, Pichegru, and finally Bonaparte, all are actors upon her stage. Some insight may be gained into the temper of the "Contemporary" from her candid estimate of herself. She says she had always been told of her beauty, and took it as a matter of course—but she was immensely flattered when compliments were paid to her wit. "But in my vanity there was nothing offensive to other women. I was really a good sort of soul. Still, if I was not disagreeable, I knew how to defend myself against attack from one of my sex." The reader of these vivacious reminiscences is not left in doubt as to that point, but it would be entertaining to know the feelings of that member of her sex against whom the "Contemporary" defended herself. General Moreau was a strong influence in her early life; while Marshal Ney, to whom she dedicated her mature womanhood, was the dominant power of her existence. She gives a pleasant picture of Beaumarchais, a harmless and gentle man, adored by his family, and a most engaging talker. He said, when he read the bulletins that Napoleon sent from

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Egypt, that he fancied himself reading a chapter of "Arabian Nights' Entertainment." "He transcends probability; his ideas and actions are all marvel." During the first part of the Consulate it was resolved to exclude the ladies of the contractors and bankers from the society of the Tuileries, whose ranks were already meager enough. "Hence," is the comment, "the Consular Court was for some time a sort of magic-lantern show, with mixed pictures and a great many changes." It is possible that a prejudiced view is taken by the narrator of some witty encounters between herself and "Citizen Talleyrand." When she writes of him, she explains that there was not a vestige left in him of his former episcopal station except the manner of wearing his hair—as she expresses it, the Bishop of Autun had nothing left of the church but his powder and his good manners. "His cleverness in speech might have been exceeded, but not that of his reticences." At one time, in playful mood, the hand that was wont to sign treaties for France condescended to use thousand-franc bank notes as curl-papers for the fair hair of the "Contemporary." She was patient enough to have many tresses curled. Very early in her career she adopted the fashion of donning men's clothes whenever the fancy seized her. Being filled with a desire to share the experiences of an active campaign, she endured great exertion and fatigue and even suffered wounds, in order to follow the fortunes of Marshal Ney. In 1807 an appointment to the court of Elisa, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, sister of Napoleon, was secured for the adventurous Ida, just recovered from a wound received in battle, and she entered with zest into the intricacies of current politics in Tuscany.

From this Court she went to visit that of the Queen of Naples. Of her she remarks, "The Queen had a sneering chuckle whenever she spoke, which grew both tiresome and painful. By nature awkward and dull, she did her utmost to be affable that day."

Then came the campaign of 1812, and Ida made up her mind to brave the perils of the famous Russian expedition disguised, as usual, as a man. The horrors of the retreat from Moscow are briefly described, and, as she says quaintly, "Presently morals began to loosen," and theft, cruelty, and license reigned. Having for a companion a beautiful Lithuanian girl called "Nidia," Ida forded rivers, suffered cold and hunger, kept Cossacks at bay, and witnessed the horrible and pathetic scenes of that terrible catastrophe. Upon her return she began again to travel restlessly, and introduced herself at Gratz to Louis Bonaparte, former King of Holland, whom she characterizes as a bard grafted on a burgomaster, "but besides writing poetry he did a great deal of good"!

Established once more in Paris, she renewed her intrigues, and tried to restore Ney's waning enthusiasm for Napoleon, with but small success.

In 1814 Ida had an interview with "Madame Mère," as Napoleon's mother was called. She was seated at a table strewn with small pieces of bead-work, which she bought from poor women and distributed among the ladies about her. "I can easily believe that any one would be flattered to receive a gift from Mme. Mère," said Ida.

"A gift? A gift, did you say? What can you be thinking of! I pay for them, and am paid back. I see, my dear, that you are not at all economical. As for me, I am not like my daughters; I don't play princess, as they do!"

The year 1814 opened under dark auspices. Trade was languishing, and the hostility of the middle classes and society to the Emperor was evident. On March 29, 1814, a mournful procession left the Tuileries, and the Empress-Regent and her son, the King of Rome, took their departure, never to return. The next day the fate of Paris was to be decided.

Of less heroic mold than was the weak Louis XVI. when facing the final catastrophe, Napoleon is represented by the "Contemporary" as having attempted to take his own life by poison. She was in the palace of Fontainebleau, and, roused by unwonted noises, rushed to the Emperor's apartments, where she heard the word "poisoned" twice repeated. She remarks, in a true Gallic spirit, "Reawakened to his sense of moral greatness by the failure of his attempt on his own life, Napoleon resolved to submit to his fate, since, forsaken by all, he could not even find refuge in death."

After all was over, the "Contemporary"

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was instructed with a secret mission to Elba, where she had a private interview with the great exile. Upon writing to Marshal Ney her observations gathered during her journey to and from Elba, he replied, "Whoever desires a change desires the ruin of France. Our sole want is peace. What matters it who governs? All that matters is France—her welfare and her dignity. Let us think of nothing but our country." But, as is known, Ney returned to his allegiance and met Napoleon, on his return, with loyalty.

The final chapters are devoted to the calamitous history of 1815, and the book ends with an outburst of French sentiment and religion. Ida, dressed in the garb of a Sister of Mercy (borrowed for the occasion), knelt beside Ney's bier, her "hero struck down by French bullets." Upon rising she made a vow to live henceforth according to the religion which granted her the blessing of praying for the hero's immortal soul, and addressed to him these words: "Ney, thou illustrious shade, how full of hope were the supplications I poured out in the presence of thy spirit! The promise I made in the depth of my sorrow I have faithfully kept. My vow has been observed. And, holding it sacred, Ida, in keeping before her mind thy noble nature, dares to trust her faults will be forgiven."

The translator and editor, Lionel Strachey, has preserved to a remarkable degree the vivacity of the original, and in his editing shows a judicious appreciation of the taste of English readers. Two portraits of Ida Saint Elme represent her as still a beautiful woman, though past her youth. A third shows her with short hair, in men's clothes, as she appeared in 1806. Many illustrations from old prints and many interesting portraits of more than ordinary value are scattered through the volume.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."

Adventures du Dernier Abencerage. By Chateaubriand. Edited by James D. Bruner, Ph.D. The American Book Co., New York. 5×7 in. 96 pages. 30c.

Andromaque Britannicus and Athalie. By Jean Racine. Edited by F. M. Warren. Henry Holt & Co., New York. 4½×6½ in. 350 pages.

Art in the Nineteenth Century. By Charles Waldstein. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×7 in. 110 pages.

Reserved for later notice.

Christ the Apocalypse. By the Rev. James Cooke Seymour. Jennings & Pye, Cincinnati. 5×7½ in. 350 pages. $1.

The thought unfolded in this book, that Christ is the revealer of God's being, character, law, and grace, is thoroughly sound, but the exposition of it is continually injured by loose and careless or extravagant statements, *e.g.*, "If it is impossible for the Son of God to lie, then the first chapter of Genesis is true." No writer is trustworthy, however well-meaning, who regards it as "blasphemy" to say that Jesus used fermented wine at the Last Supper.

Descriptive Guide to the Best Fiction, British and American (A). By Ernest A. Baker, M.A. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5¼×8 in. 610 pages. $2.50.

This contains brief descriptions and sometimes critical comment on about 4,500 novels, arranged alphabetically under classifications of century and nationality. There are added a historical appendix and elaborate indexes. The whole takes up about six hundred closely printed pages, at least nine-tenths of which relate to the century just closed. The book might have been made smaller without greatly injuring its value, by such omissions as a few out of the twelve entries under "Tytler, Sarah," or one or two of the eight under "Crane, Stephen," and in other like cases. But perhaps all-inclusiveness was thought essential. The general usefulness of the work as a reference-book is apparent. So far as we may judge, the work has been done adequately and carefully.

Down the Orinoco in a Canoe. By S. Perez Triana. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 253 pages. $1.25.

This is no stereotyped book of travels. The first chapter reads like the beginning of an old Spanish romance. The region Señor Triana covered by muleback and canoe is one of the richest and most beautiful in the world, and has rarely been visited by civilized man since the old Spanish conquerors came that way. The Señor, son of an ex-Governor of Colombia, and a true South American, is thoroughly familiar with the history and legend of his native land, and wields a pen at once poetic, humorous, and picturesque. It is often too philosophic, giving pages of sage reflections where one would rather have descriptions of what he saw. Information as to South Ameri-

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can resources, opinions regarding South America's place in the world's future, plans for industrial development which might form a basis for the permanent pacification of Venezuela and Colombia, contribute to the value and timeliness of the book.

Epoch-Making Papers in United States History. Edited by Marshall Stewart Brown. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4½×6 in. 207 pages. 25c.

Euripides. Translated into English Rhyming Verse by Gilbert Murray, M.A., LL.D. Illustrated. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 355 pages. $2.

This and the volume on Sophocles, the full title of which is given under that name, form the third and fourth volumes in the very competent series entitled "The Athenian Drama." The volume devoted to Sophocles contains translations of "Œdipus Tyrannus," "Œdipus Coloneus," and "Antigone," by Professor John S. Phillimore, of the University of Glasgow; the volume of Euripides presents "Hippolytus," "The Bacchæ," and "The Frogs," in the translation of Dr. Gilbert Murray, both volumes being supplied with elaborate introductions, with commentaries, notes, and illustrations. Dr. Phillimore discards blank verse, and his translation is in rhyme-couplets.

Explorations in Bible Lands During the Nineteenth Century. By H. V. Hilprecht, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D. Illustrated. A. J. Holman & Co., Philadelphia. 6½×9½ in. 810 pages. $3, net.

Reserved for later notice.

From the Unvarying Star. By Elsworth Lawson. The Macmillan Co., New York, 5×7¾ in. 292 pages. $1.50.

This romance has real poetical feeling, a charming love story, and closer character study than is to be found in the average novel. The plot deals largely with the trials of a young English Dissenting minister, who is not only "pestered for opinion's sake" by a hypocritical and hard-grained elder, but is accused wrongfully of having an illicit love affair, the fact being that he has rescued his sister from a scoundrel (the excessive villainy of this man and his melodramatic death are the weakest points in the book) and is sheltering her from public scorn. With the exception named, the story is natural, simple, and sincere.

Great Siberian Railway from St. Petersburg to Pekin (The). By Michael Myers Shoemaker. Illustrated. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5½×8 in. 243 pages. $2.

Though twenty years have elapsed since Mr. Shoemaker's first visit to Russia, he detects but little improvement in the condition of intelligence among the rank and file of the inhabitants, "and the worst of it is that they appear indifferent to their ignorance." This author doubts if the building of the trans-Siberian railway will, after all, really consolidate the Russian Empire. He regards its consolidation, and also its extension, very much as an intelligent Russian would, appreciating the peculiar advantages of the Czar's government as applied, for instance, to Manchuria; Mr. Shoemaker hopes that Russia "will hold on to that province as tightly as England has to Egypt." In any case, he thinks one feature fortunate when the controlling element in Asiatic expansion is Russian, for, half Oriental as the Russian is, he knows better than do pure Europeans or Americans how to deal with Oriental races. For the sake of getting these first-hand observations we can afford to read some of the occasionally rather too literal transcripts from the author's daily journal. Mr. Shoemaker's account will be specially appreciated by those who have enjoyed his previous volumes, particularly his "Quaint Corners of Ancient Empires."

Heredity and Social Progress. By Simon N. Patten. The Macmillan Company, New York. 5×7¾ in. 214 pages. $1.25.

Under this title Professor Patten solves an economic problem by the aid of biology. The problem is whether the temporary surplus, which forms part of each year's product through human effort, can be transformed into permanent conditions or into mental traits. On the possibility of this depends all progress. The answer is sought in a study of biologic life, as a field the changes in which are parallel to those of economic life. Even an epitome of the analogy thus presented in this original and striking essay would exceed the present limits. It is not perfectly easy reading for the non-scientific reader, but it is simplified to the extent it will bear, and very clearly presented to those who will take care to understand. There is, of course, a certain analogy between "ecology"—the term here preferred to economics, as free from technical limitation—and biology; for there is an analogy between the life of the community and that of the individual. There is also an analogy between a social and a physical science, as ecology and biology; for physical forces have to do with each. But the analogy between these two fields is limited; they but partly coincide; man and society are dominated by superphysical as well as physical forces. While Professor Patten does not seem to press the analogy beyond its worth, he sometimes so expresses himself as to tempt that way a reader who is not on his guard; *e.g.*, "an ethical impulse begins in improved bodily mechanisms." His conclusions run counter to some widely held doctrines in economics and in education. "Progress is the development of the strong, not where they are strong, but where they are weak;" and the strongest men are weak in some point. "Education cannot improve natural characters"—the strong side—it is for the strengthening of the weak side of nature. "Men and women tend to be different. They must be kept on an equality by an education that shall give to each sex the qualities that are natural to the other." So in the field of reform: "Every class must give its strength and characters to other classes, and each race to its neighbors. Then a new surplus will appear," the basis of continued progress. The whole course of thought which issues in these conclusions is eminently fresh and suggestive.

History of Woman Suffrage (The). Edited by Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper. Illustrated. In 4 vols. Vol. IV., 1883–1900. Published by Susan B. Anthony, 17 Madison Street, Rochester, N. Y. 6×9½ in. 1,144 pages.

This volume covers the history of the woman's rights movement during the past two decades,

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and summarizes the present state of the law in all the American States not only as regards the voting and office-holding privileges of women, but also as regards the whole field of their civil rights. The editorial work is well done, and the narrative of events in nearly all the commonwealths is compact with significant facts. The work, therefore, is of value—particularly for reference purposes—to the critics of the movement as well as to its advocates. The defeats are recorded as fully as the victories—though of course the arguments presented by the opponents are not recorded with anything like the fullness accorded to the arguments in its favor. The defeats—except that in Kansas in 1894—seem not in any measure to have discouraged the suffragists. In each State where equal suffrage has been twice submitted to the voters—Colorado, Oregon, and Washington—they point out that the suffragists were much stronger at the second election than at the first. In most of the recent Western campaigns the chief supporters of woman's suffrage have been the Populists and Silver Republicans. The regular Republican conventions have been noncommittal and the Democratic conventions hostile toward the movement.

Human Destiny in the Light of Revelation. By John F. Weir, M.A. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 4½×7 in. 186 pages. $1, net.

This book is founded on the dualistic philosophy. Its teaching may be summarized briefly as follows: There are two worlds, a physical and spiritual, a natural and supra-natural. Science deals with the first, revelation deals with the second. Man by nature is of the earth, earthy; he is not a son of God. He was not made in the image of God. The statement in the first chapter of Genesis, that God made man in his own image, refers to a perfected creation, a perfect man. The statement in the second chapter of Genesis, that he was formed of the dust of the ground, states the historic fact, and in this it is not affirmed that he was made in the image of God. The divine life, which alone is capable of transforming man into God's image and making him a son of God, was brought into the world by Jesus Christ, and it is only through Jesus Christ that men are made in God's image. They then become partakers of his nature, and so sharers in his destiny. The author leaves us in doubt respecting those patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament dispensation who were created before Jesus Christ, and those men of the pagan world who have never heard of him. The writer makes full and large use of Scripture in support of his theory, but the Scripture which he uses seems to us, in many cases, not to justify the conclusions which he deduces; thus: "It is plain that man was not created a child of God in the order of nature; for it is said that 'the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God'—that is, for that new birth, 'of the Spirit,' which implants in man 'the divine nature.'" But "manifestation" is not equivalent to "creation." The very fact that the creation waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God indicates that sonship already exists, though dormant, hidden, undisclosed. The volume will be interesting to the student of Scripture, but we do not think it will carry conviction to the average modern mind. Its scheme of life is too unnatural, the critic would say too artificial, the author would perhaps say too spiritual.

Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death. By Frederic W. H. Myers. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. In 2 vols. 6×9½ in. $12.

Reserved for later notice.

In Piccadilly. By Benjamin Swift. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5×7½ in. 264 pages.

A wild and tumultuous tale dealing with primitive passions in modern fashionable London. One always feels in Mr. Swift's books that he really should have been a tragic poet of the Elizabethan age rather than a modern realistic novelist. He uses an abrupt staccato style; his characters are mostly unlovely and often unreal; he often "writes at the top of his voice;" he has no sense of humor; nevertheless there are here and there flashes of real power and something very like real genius. This story of jealousy, illicit passion, hatred, and murder is far from pleasant, but it has virile force, nevertheless.

Italy and the Italians. By Edward Hutton. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5⅛×8 in. 343 pages. $1.50, net.

Mr. Hutton's impressions of Italy are printed on exquisite paper, as befits the often exquisite thought—a thought peculiarly attuned to those subtler charms of the Peninsula which are apt to escape the quick traveler. In Mr. Hutton we have a writer who seems to have lived in Italy, to have absorbed it, to have been absorbed by it, not merely to have seen it in a cursory manner. His language seems instinctively poetic, and we see through a poet's eye Genoa, Pisa, Siena, Orvieto, Rome—in fact, the principal Italian cities. We see notable personages too, and at close range; for instance, the Pope, the King, Cardinal Rampolla, the poet Carducci, the novelist Foggazzaro, and the dramatist Gabriele d'Annunzio. The last named becomes a somewhat more interesting character than in other descriptions of him. Mr. Hutton acknowledges that this Italian is "not without the words of the sensualist," in which madness he, like all in its grip, becomes "minute, dreary, infinitely infinitesimal." This, however, seems almost forgotten in the enthusiastic phrases which describe the genius of one who has often been regarded principally as a *décadent*. Another interesting allusion in this interesting book concerns the talent of the late Mr. Shorthouse. Mr. Hutton declares that "'John Inglesant' has caught more of the spirit of Italy than has any other book;" undoubtedly he meant to add "by a foreigner."

Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs. By William Rosenau, Ph.D. Illustrated. The Friedenwald Co., Baltimore. 5×7½ in. 193 pages.

An interesting book, well illustrated. A note worth making is that at the present time no divorce can take place according to Jewish law except upon mutual agreement of husband and wife—a great mitigation of the Mosaic rule.

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Leavening the Nation: The Story of American Home Missions. By Joseph B. Clark, D.D. The Baker & Taylor Co., New York. 7½ in. 362 pages. $1.25, net.

Reserved for later notice.

Mazzini. By Bolton King, M.A. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 380 pages. $1.50, net.

This biography is entirely worthy of such admirable paper, print, and binding. It is a dignified, painstaking, acceptable account of a great dreamer's life and thought. More nearly than any other attempt to deal with either, this book puts that life and that thought in truer perspective with other men's lives and other men's thoughts. The present volume is not only interesting personally and politically; a sufficient period has now intervened since Mazzini's death (1872) to enable us to judge both the man and the politician. As we turn page after page of this appreciation, Mazzini the ethical teacher looms luminously rather than Mazzini the man or Mazzini the statesman. When he was in the twenties, his inspiration of duty, and his conviction that all morality rested on an ideal, seemed to be as stimulating as during his last heroic days. Happiness was never the end of his life, but duty. Hence Mazzini's greatness as a man, revolutionist, politician, thinker, teacher, was purely that which belongs to character. Circumstance or status—the things which environ so many men's lives, warping them, or unnecessarily or unreasonably magnifying them—had little or nothing to do with the development of Mazzini's character. If he had not been a revolutionist, if he had not been a republican, if he had not been an enthusiast for unity during apparently hopeless years, his character must still have stood out beyond those even of such distinguished co-laborers as Cavour, Manin, Garibaldi, and Victor Emmanuel. Fortunate it was for an often unpractical man that he had such associates—especially Cavour. Wherever we see Mazzini, as described by his latest biographer—during the 1831 revolution, at Marseilles, Geneva, London; during the 1848 rising and the all too short period of the Roman Republic, and then during the glorious days of the final welding of Italian unity—we learn from him, not only that democracy is the ideal government, not only that unity and peace must finally grow out of disintegration, but that society cannot rest on morality alone—it must also have religion—and, above all, that the spiritual, not the material, is lastingly paramount.

My Woodland Intimates. By Effie Bignell. The Baker & Taylor Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 241 pages. $1, net.

All who are pleased to listen to true tales of how little wild creatures may live on friendly and confiding terms with human beings who prove themselves worthy of such distinction will enjoy this volume of quiet nature stories.

Pastoral Visitation. By the Rev. H. E. Savage, M.A. (Handbooks for the Clergy Series.) Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×7 in. 182 pages. 96c.

Specially designed for the instruction of Anglican clergymen.

Phillips Brooks. By William Lawrence. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 4½×7 in. 51 pages. 50c.

This is the address delivered on the 23d of January, the tenth anniversary of the death of Phillips Brooks. It is published just in time for Easter, and is an appropriate Easter gift. Edward Everett Hale is reported to have said that it is the best interpretation of Phillips Brooks and his work that has been given. We certainly think it is the best that we have seen in anything like so brief a compass.

Principles of Criticism (The): An Introduction to the Study of Literature. By W. Basil Worsfold, M.A. (New Edition.) Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 256 pages. $1.12, net.

A new edition of a condensed and well-written survey of the general subject of literary criticism, with citation of principles from Plato, Aristotle, and the earlier and later critics, both Continental and English, and with a discussion of the various forms of literary art.

Proverbs and Common Sayings from the Chinese, Together with Much Related and Unrelated Matter, Interspered with Observations on Chinese Things in General. By Arthur H. Smith. (New and Revised Edition.) The American Presbyterian Mission Press, Shanghai. 6×9½ in. 403 pages.

Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society. Edited by Franklin L. Riley. Vol. VI. Printed for the Society, Oxford, Miss. 6×9½ in. 567 pages.

Several of the papers contained in this volume are of National as well as State interest. Sociologists all over the country will be interested in Colonel J. H. Jones's compact account of "Penitentiary Reform in Mississippi." It is written in a spirit of fine humanity, and frankly recognizes that a negro legislature took the first steps to suppress the horrors of the convict lease system, and that the first white legislatures after the overthrow of negro government permitted the abuses of the system to develop. The final overthrow of the system, instead of bringing the financial losses which the materialists used to anticipate, has opened the way for a system of State employment which is more than self-supporting. The long chapter on "Suffrage and Reconstruction in Mississippi" is of even wider historical interest, and explains better than any recent work on the reconstruction period how the South was led to reject the Fourteenth Amendment, when its acceptance promised to restore the Southern States to their old places in the Federal system without negro suffrage. This offer was, without doubt, made in good faith by the overwhelming majority of the Republican Congress, and had it been accepted the Fifteenth Amendment could not have been adopted.

School History of the United States: Being a Revision of a Brief History of the United States. By Joel Dorman Steele, Ph.D., F.G.S., and Esther Baker Steele, Lit.D. The American Book Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 432 pages. $1.

Selection of the Shorter Poems of Wordsworth (A). Edited by Edward Fulton, Ph.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×5¾ in. 181 pages. 25c.

This latest addition to Macmillan's "Pocket American and English Classics" is edited with an introduction by Professor Edward Fulton, of the University of Illinois. It presents

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an ample selection from the shorter poems of Wordsworth, and has an introduction of considerable length, which deals with Wordsworth's biography, the influences which were brought to bear upon him, his theory of poetry, his philosophy of life, and the quality and art of the shorter poems. The volume is supplied with notes.

Socialist and the Prince (The). By Mrs. Fremont Older. The Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. 5×8 in. 309 pages. $1.50.

Another novel in which the contentions of labor and capital form the web through which the thread of a love-story winds its way. The battle is waged in this instance, not in Wall Street, but in San Francisco, which is a welcome variation; and the burning question is not the matter of a coal strike or a corner in stocks, but of Chinese labor, the date of the story being that of the anti-Chinese labor agitation of some years ago. Paul Stryne, the workingmen's leader, is the best-drawn character in the book; his love-making to the capitalist's daughter, his mastery of his followers, his defection from their cause at a critical moment in a political campaign, furnish chapters of intense and dramatic interest.

Sophocles. Translated by John Swinnerton Phillimore, M.A. Illustrated. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 355 pages. $2.

See the note under Euripides in another column.

Spirals in Nature and Art: A Study of Spiral Formations Based on the Manuscripts of Leonardo da Vinci. By Theodore A. Cook, M.A., F.S.A. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 200 pages. $2.50, net.

The accomplished author of "Old Touraine" has now published an ingenious study of spiral formations, specially based on the manuscripts and work of Leonardo da Vinci. Leonardo was not only great as a painter, but also as an architect, scientist, engineer, mathematician, biologist. Through him we realize that certain natural laws bind an architect's work as they bind the growth of all organic structure, and in the present essay Mr. Cook suggests one of these laws. The investigation of spiral forms in nature is still incomplete, but much has been done by our author in his new volume to show how they have been and may be adapted in architecture.

Studies in Christian Character, Work, and Experience. By Rev. William L. Watkinson. In 2 vols. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×7½ in. Per vol., $1, net.

These two volumes of brief sermons, like "The Blind Spot" and "The Bane and the Antidote," by the same author, exhibit insight and abound in illustrative writing that really illustrates. Mr. Watkinson does not hesitate to emphasize the reverse aspect of a truth, after stating its converse. His way of saying things is eminently terse, clear, concrete, and practical.

Studies in the History of Educational Opinion from the Renaissance. By S. S. Laurie, A.M., LL.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 261 pages.

In this excellent book Mr. Laurie does not try to treat the whole question of education from the Renaissance to our own times. Instead, he adopts a far more interesting and popular method: he selects representative men from the fifteenth century to the present as subjects for his admirable appreciations; for instance, such educationists as Erasmus, who died in 1536; Montaigne, who died in 1592; Bacon (1626), Milton (1674), Locke (1704), and Herbert Spencer, who, happily, is still living. Mr. Laurie's characterization of these and other men is striking. Of course he calls Montaigne and Locke Rationalists, and Roger Ascham a Humanist, but Comenius is a "Sense-Encyclopædist," Milton is a "Classical Encyclopædist," while Spencer is a "Modern Sense-Realist." According to Mr. Laurie, the roots of the Renaissance are to be found further back in the Gothic Age than we sometimes think. Certain precursors of the Renaissance are evident enough in the Middle Ages, it is true—the Crusades and the age of chivalry, the beginnings of national vernacular literatures, and, above all, the freedom of discussion at the mediæval universities. These elements, however, in the opinion of many, are not so notable in foreshadowing the Renaissance as in adding distinction to the period of scholastic philosophy, cathedral schools, and university foundations—to the age of Dante, Giotto, St. Thomas, St. Francis, St. Bernard, and St. Louis.

Story of the Churches (The): The Presbyterians. By Charles Lemuel Thompson, D.D. **The Baptists.** By Henry C. Vedder, D.D. The Baker & Taylor Co., New York. 4½×7 in. Per vol., $1, net.

Illiteracy is in more degrees than is popularly supposed. The church member ignorant of the history of his own Church is not free from an illiteracy that is not creditable. These outlines leave less excuse for it than the big books hitherto dealing with the subject. What every church member ought to know is here presented in clear and compact form, sufficiently condensed for the limitations of busy people. So briefly is the story told as to make it easy for one to learn also about other churches than his own—an accomplishment now rare, but most desirable.

Theory of Education in Plato's "Republic" (The). By John E. Adamson, M.A. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 258 pages.

This is a book of no merely antiquarian interest. Plato is perennially fresh. His theory of education touches modern needs at many points, at none more than in regard to the social interest in education, the making of good citizens, for which a purely individual interest has too often been substituted. Those who are minded to turn from the new wine of our modern educational literature to the old wine of Plato's Academy will find Mr. Adamson's book not only instructive, but charming in its setting forth of principles thought out so long since, and still tasking wisdom to apply. According to Plato, religious and moral training in reverence toward God and the family virtues is primordial. In this a powerful factor is literature. But one must guard against the dangers of imitation. Individuality and self-reliance must be cultivated. The teacher must efface himself, not impress himself upon his pupils; to superintend and guide is his

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sole function. Æsthetic and intellectual training are essential constituents of moral culture; the beautiful and the true are intimately related to the good. "The end of a 'musical' education is a good character." Other chapters deal with physical culture, social welfare, the cardinal virtue. But one may question if Mr. Adamson rightly conceives of patriotism as "a dangerous emotion." Defined as love of one's countrymen as a brotherhood, rather than of one's country as a place to make one's fortune in, only the lack of patriotism can be dangerous.

Theism. By Borden P. Bowne. Comprising the Deems Lectures for 1902. The American Book Co., New York. 5½×8½ in. 323 pages.

In this largely augmented revision of his work on "The Philosophy of Theism" Professor Bowne holds closely to the essentials of theistic argument, intent wholly on clearing up and settling its logical principles. Not, however, as if the issue between theism and its contradictories rested on logic. The office of logic ends with determining the correctness of the process of reason from premiss to conclusion—a purely regulative function. Tested thus by logical principles, atheism is shown to be "a mental outlaw," and "philosophically illiterate and belated." Viewed as a presentation of the logical validity of the theistic argument, Professor Bowne's outline might be called "the Logic of Theism." But he admits that the entire argument rests on the basis of "faith;" he insists that it must so rest, and rests securely so. Faith is rooted not in logic, but in life, in the mind's necessity of self-realization and self-preservation. The fundamental realities are the principles by which we live, and live our best life. These are assumed by an act of faith in the essential truthfulness of life and reality. He who will assume nothing of this cuts away the basis of science as well as of religion. But, so much being assumed, the issue between theism and atheism is virtually settled. Regarding these as rival hypotheses for the explanation of the cosmos and of man, it appears that while theism cannot be "proved" without begging the question, it cannot be denied without ending in absurdity. Atheism, as Professor Bowne observes, "is a kind of intellectual parasite." It has flourished less through any vitality of its own than on the faults of some theistic arguments. The thorough work in theistic thought accomplished during the past generation has bereft it of this nutriment, and "the atheistic gust" has mostly blown over. Professor Bowne has himself contributed to this, especially in the field of epistemology, where the suicidal nature of atheistic thought is demonstrated. Theism still has its puzzles, to which atheism has given more attention than to its own desperate ones. The problem of "the One and the Many," the inner relation of the world of individuals to God, is one of these, and here Professor Bowne himself is less clear than elsewhere. Theism will not be perfected till it has absorbed all the truth there is in Pantheism, and this Professor Bowne does not seem to have quite done.

Two Heroes of Cathay: An Autobiography and a Sketch. Edited by Luella Miner. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×8 in. 238 pages. $1, net.

Reserved for later notice.

Under the Rose. By Frederic S. Isham. Illustrated. The Bowen-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind. 5×7½ in. 427 pages.

A love story of the time of Francis I. of France and Charles V. of Spain; the principal scenes are laid in the court of the former and the tent of the latter. There are princes and princesses to spare, and enough jesters to amuse them—the hero being a "fool," who came very near to playing a most serious joke upon himself.

"Unofficial:" A Two Days' Drama. By Hon. Mrs. Walter R. D. Forbes (née Farwell). D. Appleton & Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 275 pages. $1.

The combination of several situations which possess the inherent attractiveness peculiar to the staples of the story-teller's art are so strung together as to make this little volume an entertaining companion for a leisure hour when one wants to read something very light indeed.

Veronica. By Martha W. Austin. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 256 pages. $1.50.

One charm of this prose idyl lies in its sympathy with nature, appreciation of her moods, and acceptance of her ministries. It is a love story, and keen and delicate insight is displayed in depicting the tortures of a constant by an inconstant heart, and in showing the broadening and strengthening of the former through doubt as through faith.

We Shall Live Again: The Third Series of Sermons which have Appeared in the New York Sunday Herald. By George H. Hepworth, D.D. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5¼×7¾ in. 271 pages. $1, net.

Of the more than fifty sermonettes in this collection, which takes its title from the subject of the first, a large number open windows toward the world of spirit. Dr. Hepworth felt himself a citizen of that world as of this, and the uplifting influence of it pervades his thought. Life was to him worth living, and these short sermons to the readers of the New York "Herald" are pointed with an aim to make it so.

What Manner of Man. By Edna Kenton. The Bowen-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind. 5×8 in. 300 pages.

This is a modern version of "Prometheus Bound," the Prometheus being a woman whose martyrdom comes when she discovers why her artist-husband married her. Thayer, the artist, paints the souls of women; he is equal to heroic measures in bringing the soul to the surface while studying the embodiments transferred to his canvas.

Wisdom of James the Just (The). By Right Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, D.D. Thomas Whittaker, New York. 5×7½ in. 253 pages. $1.20, net.

The Bishop of Ripon assumes that the Epistle of St. James is an epistle and was written by James; he does not go into the critical discussion of this New Testament contribution to Hebrew wisdom literature. His comments are exegetical. His work is an elaborate untechnical commentary.

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Correspondence

A Letter from Senator Hoar

To the Editors of The Outlook:

I have seen in one of the papers that The Outlook has stated lately that I had reproved or rebuked the President of the United States for interfering with legislation, and, in commenting on that, added that I formerly made a public complaint of persons who ventured to exercise their constitutional right of petitioning Congress or the Senate.

I have done neither the one nor the other, and the statement of The Outlook rests on a total misunderstanding of what I said.

A Senator stated on the floor that a bill which he desired to have taken up and passed was approved by the President and one of the Heads of the Departments, and that the President, although he had shortly before vetoed a similar bill, was now satisfied that the bill ought to pass. Of that statement I complained, calling attention to the fact that such statements as to the opinion of the Crown are always held a breach of privilege in the British Parliament, and I urged that nobody had the right to undertake to influence legislation by statements of the opinion of the President; to which I added that "the time for the President to make up his mind about legislation is after we have passed it and not before, unless he avail himself of his constitutional right to make recommendations in his messages, which is the proper way."

I did not in the least reprove President Roosevelt, and did not complain that he had in any respect departed from propriety. All that I complained of was the habit that has grown up among some of the Senators of claiming to be special depositaries of the President's wishes.

Second. I never complained of the right of petition, or uttered a word or had a thought inconsistent with it. Some years ago there was a proposed treaty agreed upon between our State Department and the British Minister which provided, among other things, that when any question came up between the two countries, it should be left to a tribunal which should contain two Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. It also provided that other nations should be invited to accede to that treaty. We have only nine Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. It takes five for a quorum. So if that treaty had become law, and we had had a question with Great Britain grave enough to be referred to that tribunal, we must have withdrawn two of our Judges; and if two of the others—all of them being men of an advanced age—had happened to be at that time ill, we should have had a bare quorum to settle the greatest constitutional questions which might affect the fate of the Republic.

Further than this. The treaty provided that any other countries that saw fit might become parties to it. So we might have made treaty obligations which would require the taking from their duties for a long period of time the whole of the Supreme Court of the United States, or a majority of it. The investigations which might come up might take, as the Canada dispute has taken already, a good many months. We might have boundary questions, like the Venezuela case, or questions of commercial or maritime rights, like the Canada fisheries case, or like the Behring Sea sealing question. In other words, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, as it stood, was utterly preposterous.

Now, before the treaty had been printed, and before the papers accompanying the treaty had been sent to the Senate and laid on the table, the press, and especially the religious press, was clamoring that we should adopt the treaty without delay and without amendments. One well-known paper, published in my own city, said: "Let the Senators stop talking about it and vote and go home." A very worthy orthodox minister in Worcester preached a foolish sermon from his pulpit denouncing the Senate for thinking that such a humane measure in the interests of peace needed any discussion. Then the petitions began to come in—petitions signed in utter ignorance of what the petitioners were talking about.

Now this was not simply harmless folly.

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I was very eager at that time to get this treaty ratified with proper amendments. I got the pledges of many Senators, who would otherwise have voted against it, that if I would get certain amendments, among others one modifying this provision in regard to the Judges of the Supreme Court, they would vote for it. I got the votes of eleven Senators, nearly enough to secure its passage by the necessary two-thirds vote, by that amendment. But this public clamor which came from the press and the pulpit made it much harder for us to get Great Britain to amend it. The trouble with this angry talk about diplomatic matters is that the other side to the bargain, when we try to get them to come to our terms, says to our diplomatic agents, "Why, your own people are for this thing as it is. Your newspapers are writing articles for it. Your clergymen are preaching for it, and your citizens are petitioning for it." It is not a good Yankee method of making a bargain to have an agent in the midst of his trade reviled by his principal and employer because he does not come at once to the other side, unless the other side is to be expected to dictate the terms.

What I have said in this letter is in substance what I said in the Senate.

I am, with high regard, faithfully yours,

GEORGE F. HOAR.

Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

[In this letter Senator Hoar states two principles: from the first we dissent; with the second we agree. In our judgment, the President occupies a position much more nearly akin to that of the Prime Minister than to that of the King in England. The King has no politics and belongs to no party. The President, like the Prime Minister, is the official leader of the party which has elected him to office. There is very good reason, therefore, why he should inform Congress of the views which he entertains as the leader of his party, and this has often been done by Presidents in other ways than through formal messages. We are inclined to think that it would be well if the members of his Cabinet had seats in the House of Representatives and could be questioned on the floor of the House, as the members of the Government can be in the House of Commons. On the other hand, while it is quite legitimate for the press and the public to discuss the general principles involved in a treaty, as the principle of reciprocity involved in the Cuban treaty, and of an interoceanic canal involved in the Colombian treaty, the details should always be left to be settled by the authorities in Washington, and, in our judgment, those details should be discussed privately in executive session, and for the reasons which Senator Hoar has so admirably stated.—THE EDITORS.]

Lend-a-Hand Book Mission

To the Editors of The Outlook:

I am constantly asked for information in regard to the Lend-a-Hand Book Mission. This was its origin. In 1892 a Southern minister and a teacher applied to me for the gift of second-hand publications to give to people in the rural districts who had no money to pay for them. Generous donations were sent, which were followed by touching expressions of gratitude.

Other calls received a liberal response. From this humble beginning has arisen a wide educational movement under the name of the Lend-a-Hand Book Mission.

Its object is to collect books and periodicals which the owners have read and laid aside, and place them in communities where the people are scantily supplied.

We are now confronted with new and important opportunities and responsibilities. In going from city to town and village the past winter, we everywhere found leading men and women of the South fully comprehending the ignorance and destitution of dwellers in remote places, and they are making energetic efforts to place higher mental advantages within the reach of the masses.

I have attended meetings of the Woman's Clubs in several States, and am greatly interested in the very successful philanthropic work they have entered upon. They are sending traveling libraries into the rural districts. Each library consists of from fifty to one hundred useful and entertaining books; one-third are for adults and the remainder are for children. A library remains in a town from two to six months, and then is transported to another equally needy community.

The country people who read these

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books are kind, warm-hearted, and honest, with good capabilities, but lack development.

Some of the Woman's Clubs have so many applications on file that it is impossible to supply the demands, and people are obliged to wait for weeks before their turn comes to receive a library.

The value of providing useful literature cannot be overestimated. I have talked with this class of Southern people, and understand their aspirations and necessities. They have enlisted my sympathy and interest, and I wish to make a strong plea in their behalf.

Thirty traveling libraries through the Lend-a-Hand Book Mission have been presented to some of the Woman's Clubs. They ask and need our continued help. So many requests are coming to this Mission that at least one hundred and fifty traveling libraries are needed to carry forward this part of our work. The books most called for are "Black Beauty," "Ben-Hur," the Henty books, "Little Men," "Little Women," "Chatterbox," "Pilgrim's Progress," "Beautiful Joe," "In His Steps," "Adam Bede," Dickens's "Child's History of England," "Five Little Peppers," Phillips Brooks's Sermons, "Alice in Wonderland," etc. These and other books of a similar character are carrying brightness and knowledge into thousands of obscure homes.

Sunday-schools are constantly replenishing their libraries. What becomes of the old books? They would furnish excellent food for hungry minds. Town and city libraries sometimes have duplicate copies of volumes, which, after their early popularity has passed, would be a great boon to less fortunate libraries.

I have visited some of the State prisons. Convicts are especially glad to receive the "Youth's Companion" and the "Christian Herald." The wardens are uniformly polite, and consider it a privilege to give helpful publications to the unfortunate prisoners under their charge. Magazines, juvenile Sunday papers, Bibles, Scripture and picture cards can be used to great advantage.

All offers of reading should be made to me. Please do not send packages to the Lend-a-Hand Office, Boston, as this is my post-office address only, and it is not a depot for reading supplies.

Please send me a list of what has been collected, and I will reply, giving information to whom and to what place in the South your reading material can be forwarded. The freight must be *prepaid* by the donors.

This useful work of making thousands of restricted lives richer and happier has no boundary line, and its influence cannot be measured.

SARAH P. BRIGHAM.

Lend-a-Hand Office, 1 Beacon Street,
Boston, Mass.

The Mormon Attitude

To the Editors of The Outlook:

In your issue of February 14 you state that "testimony . . . was to the effect that *no* Mormon would run for political office without the consent of the 'First Presidency' of the 'Church.'" This statement will not be borne out by the facts, which are well understood in this section, and should have been known by the Senators from Utah, Idaho, and Colorado. The organization of the "Mormon Church" is most thorough and efficient, and it is true that no church officer would leave his church work for a political position which would take him away from his church duties, without resigning or securing leave of absence from his immediate superiors (not necessarily from the "First Presidency"). Would this not be true of any church organization? Any Mormon who is not an officer of the Church *would not* have to secure permission from any one.

With the practical abandonment of polygamy and admission of Utah as a State came a breaking up of the old division into Mormon and anti-Mormon parties and a readjustment along National party lines. It is claimed by the "Mormons," and believed by the unprejudiced "Gentiles" who are in a position to judge, that for the past fifteen years the "Mormon Church" has not in the slightest particular interfered with the political beliefs of the members of that body The writer of this letter is not a member of the "Mormon Church," but rather entirely opposed to their peculiar beliefs.

Boise, Idaho. J. R. F.

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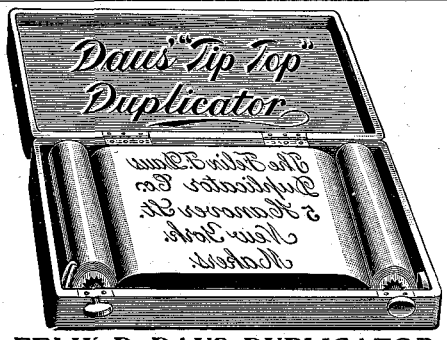

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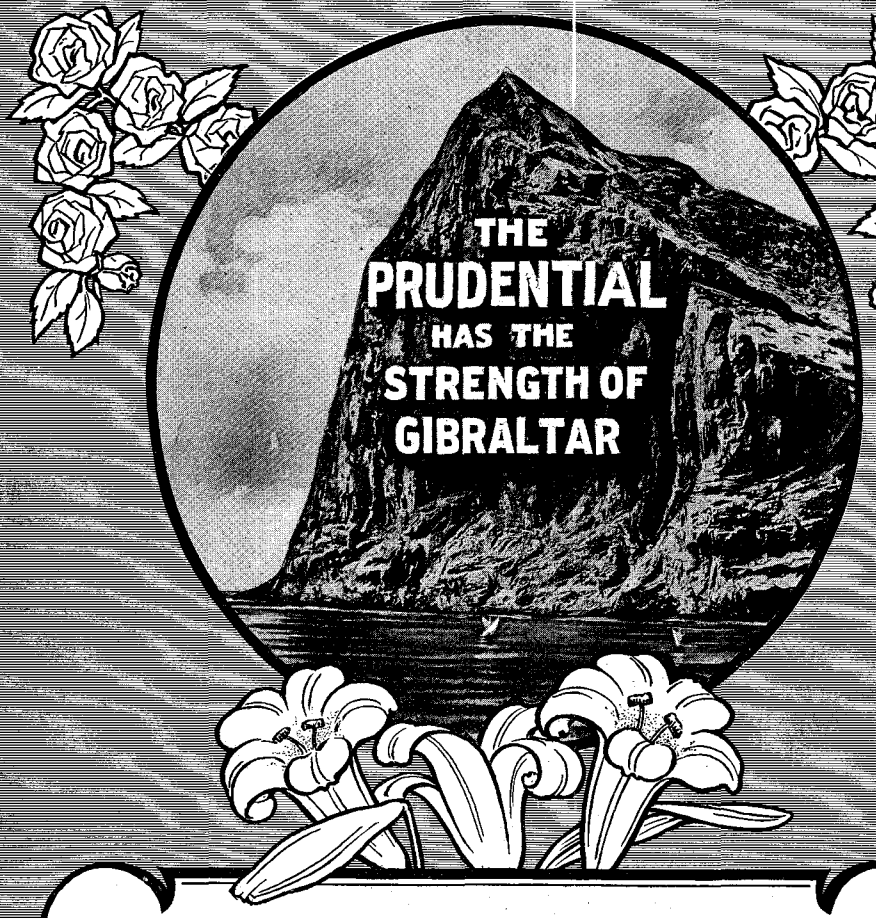

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